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The Peace Front Must Win!

THE events of the last year and of recent months are once again a striking confirmation of the fact that fascism means a *war of conquest for a new redivision of the globe.*

It was with a feeling of alarm that the friends of peace in all countries learned of the Austro-German agreement of July 13. The fascist government of Germany, as always, has penetrated into Austria with peaceful phrases on its lips and with the lighted torch of war in its hands. This important step on the road to the expansion of German imperialism was taken in agreement not only with Rome but also with the fascist governments of Hungary and Poland. The Austro-German agreement is a serious step on the road to the establishment in Europe of a common front of the fascist forces, from Warsaw to Rome.

The Austro-German agreement increases the *immediate* menace of an onslaught by fascist Germany on the countries bordering on it, and first and foremost threatens the independence of Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Hitler Germany is utilizing the agreement in order to win a number of key positions in the economic life of Austria, and to increase its *expansion in the Danube and Balkan countries.* In Austria itself, the agreement to all intents and purposes legalizes Hitler's agents, the Austrian National-Socialists, a state of things which may lead to the loss of Austria's independence.

At the same time Hitler's representative, the fascist Greizer—president of the Danzig Senate—declared in Geneva that Danzig had decided to break with the League of Nations. Greizer openly declared that his speech was only the beginning and that further steps would follow. What he had in mind was the linking up of Danzig to Germany, and it should be noted that Greizer hinted at an arrangement having been made with the Pilsudski clique in Poland.

The counter-revolutionary fascist putsch in Spain was prepared and begun with the support of the fascists of other countries, and, mainly, with the support of German fascism. General Sanjurjo, the inspirer and one of the organizers of the fascist revolt in Spain, was for several months prior to the putsch the guest of the German fascists. The Hitlerites helped the Spanish fascists to set alight the fire of internal war in Spain, so as to create favorable conditions for German fascism to let loose an imperialist war for a new division of the globe. Therefore the defeat of the Spanish fascists is a blow at Hitler's plans to set alight the flames of war.

The Spanish people, united in a powerful People's Front, are showing in deeds how to fight against and to conquer the fascist executioners in one's own country, how to carry on the fight against the fascist warmongers throughout the world, and how to come out victorious in this struggle.

All these acts—the Austro-German agreement, the acts of provocation committed by the Hitlerites to seize Danzig, and the fascist putsch in Spain—are serious steps in the preparation by the German fascists of a new bloodbath with a view to establishing their hegemony in Europe. At the same time, in its efforts to obtain complete mastery in Asia, Japanese imperialism is laying its hands on ever new provinces in China, is threatening the Philippines and Australia, is stealthily moving close to India, preparing for war against England and the U.S.A., and is directly menacing the U.S.S.R.

This year, during the aggression of Italy in Ethiopia, and during the provocative act of the Hitlerites in the Rhineland, the friends of peace did not succeed in making use of all the means at hand of carrying on the struggle for peace, in order for the future to deprive the fascists of all desires whatsoever to begin a robber war. And the fact that the fascist aggressors and those who abetted them went unpunished gave additional hopes to the chief incendiaries of war, and emboldened their allies.

The extreme imperialistic elements, the military parties in other capitalist countries, and first and foremost in England, also attempted to make use of the situation that had arisen, and, using the argument that it had not been possible to prevent Italy from seizing Ethiopia, to come forward with the proposal to do away with the system of collective security, and to demand what in actual fact is the liquidation of the League of Nations as an instrument of peace.

The honest friends of peace, while criticizing all the waverings and weaknesses of the League of Nations, are most determined in their opposition to the liquidation of the League of Nations, and on the contrary are striving to strengthen it as an instrument of peace. They declare for the strengthening and extension of collective security, for the application of all effective measures directed toward the preservation of peace, and especially of such measures as the complete curtailment of credits, the cessation of trade and the supply of raw materials and arms to the fascist aggressors.

In this connection the Communists and all the supporters of peace do not forget that the increase of the aggressiveness of German fascism and the Japanese military clique is the result first of all and above all of the fact that the international proletariat did not succeed in acting together with all the strength of its gigantic forces to rally around itself all the toilers and all friends of peace in a mighty front against war.

The struggle for peace is a struggle against fascism, a struggle against the fascist instigators of war.

This is why the joint action by the masses of the people in August this year, on the anniversary of the imperialist war of 1914-1918, will take place under the slogan of the intensification of the struggle against the chief fascist warmongers, against German fascism in Europe and the Japanese fascist military clique in Asia, against all those forces which are openly or secretly helping them.

* * *

Opposed to the camp of the fascist warmongers stands the camp of the friends of peace.

This camp is composed of the following:

First, the powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is a *manifesto of peace.* The Stalinist Constitution makes the consistent peace policy pursued in the past and now being pursued by the land of socialism the fundamental law of the Soviet state. The Constitution gives permanent form to the well-known fact that the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking anybody, for it is not in need of war to achieve the complete construction of the classless society. The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., reads the Constitution, "declares a state of war in case of a military attack on the U.S.S.R."

The entire might, *political, military, economic and cultural, of victorious socialism serves the preservation of peace.* The new Constitution gives expression to the wise Stalinist policy of peace which has in the recent years *had such a considerable effect on the international situation in the interests of the preservation of peace, i.e., in the interests of all working people, in the interests of the peoples of all countries.*

The new Constitution of the land of the Soviets is a powerful weapon in the hands of all honest supporters of peace, is their militant program. They will now tell wide sections of the people that fascism with its man-hatred, and with its animal jingoism leads to wars and the dying off of peoples, but the land of the Soviets has shown that socialism means the blossoming forth of the material and cultural life of all peoples, means friedship and fraternity among the peoples, that socialism means peace. The *land of Socialism is the chief factor for peace.*

Second, the gigantic power of the proletariat in the capitalist countries when it comes forward as a single force. The victories of the proletarian united front over fascism and the class enemy in a number of countries *can and must speed up the formation of a united front against the warmongers and for peace.*

Third, the desire of wide masses of people for peace, their burning hatred for war. This desire for peace on the part of the people also exists in those countries where fascist dictatorship prevents it openly manifesting itself. At the recent parliamentary elections in France, the masses of the people gave the most determined expression of their will to carry on the struggle for peace. The overwhelming majority of the French people voted against any arrangement being arrived at with German fascism, against the fascist warmongers and their agents in France, for the mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union, and for close friendship with the people of the land of socialism. In England, where the leading circles of the bourgeoisie are in every way encouraging the Hitler regime and its aggressive moves, 11,000,000 people declared for the maintenance of peace and against the war-makers at the plebiscite held last year on the question of war and peace.

Fourth, the people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries who are fighting for their liberation, and first and foremost the great Chinese

people and their heroic people's Red Army who are rising to a united struggle against the Japanese marauders.

Fifth, the governments of those capitalist countries which at the present moment are interested in preventing the outbreak of war.

The peace front is a very wide front. The whole point is to organize the hatred of the people for war and their will to peace into an *unassailable fighting front of the workers and peasants, of all working people, entire nations, and all supporters of peace against the warmongers.*

This is why the initiative in calling the International Peace Congress in September is meeting with such an unusually wide response and mass support among all supporters of peace irrespective of their political views, religious opinions, and the organizations to which they belong.

The honest supporters of peace have the right to expect that this congress will give a powerful stimulus to the movement for peace and that it will draw up a concrete platform of struggle against the warmakers, a platform on the basis of which the supporters of peace in all countries will be able to unite their forces.

The organizations of the people's anti-fascist front in those countries where it exists, and the governments of these countries, support the calling together of the Peace Congress. The Communists and all class-conscious workers support the movement for the congress, for along with all honest supporters of peace they want, at this congress, to draw up a common platform of struggle against the warmongers and for the preservation of peace.

The National Committee of France for the convening of the International Peace Congress addressed the proposal to all the supporters of peace in France to make August 2 a Peace Day.

The Communists and other honest supporters of peace in all countries will greet and wholeheartedly support the initiative displayed by the committees of the International Peace Congress for the arrangement of a day for the struggle for peace.

* * *

The international united front can prevent the outbreak of imperialist war.

A most determined struggle must be carried on against those who take the fatalistic line that imperialist war is inevitable. In the recent period Otto Bauer, in his new book, *Between Two World Wars?*, has brought to life again those old reformist views about the inevitability of wars. Otto Bauer declares for the united front, but at the same time, by his fatalistic line on the question of war, sows passivity in the ranks of the working class, disarms all those prepared to use all their strength to fight against oncoming war. What is more, Otto Bauer, with his "fatalistic" theory, plays into the hands of the enemies of the united front. The reactionary elements of Social-Democracy make use of this "theory" about the inevitability of war, just as they made use of the theory of the inevitability of the victory of fascism, in order to sabotage the united front.

A year ago, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff proved that the way to fascism can be barred, that the capitalist offensive can be beaten off, that imperialist war can be prevented, if the united front is established on a national and international scale. Comrade Dimitroff gave the workers throughout the world the fighting slogan of united action against fascism, against the capitalist offensive, and against the danger of imperialist war.

A year has passed, and the *living practical experience of the masses*, and first and foremost the victories of the united proletarian and people's anti-fascist front in Spain and France, have completely confirmed the correctness of the call launched by the helmsmen of the Comintern, the correctness of the united front policy. The positive experience of the application of the united front tactics is of *international* importance. The splendid example of the People's Front in France and Spain is already exerting tremendous influence over the working people of all countries, including the workers under the heel of fascism. This experience provides the supporters of united action in all countries with *an irresistible weapon.*

They can now say to the working people in their countries that the enemies of the united front asserted in the past, and do so now, that the united front cannot bar the way to fascism, that fascism is an inevitable stage in the development of capitalism. But here we have the example of France and Spain, where it *has been proved in practice* that the united working class front and the people's anti-fascist front set up on its basis have compelled the fascists to retreat, have dealt serious blows at the fascists. There can be no doubt that, had it not been for the People's Front in Spain, the military fascist putsch would have been crowned with a bloody victory over the Spanish people by the fascist cutthroats. And it has also been *proved in practice* that the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a policy which gave rise to a split in the ranks of the working class, the policy pursued by the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party, not only did not bar the way, but on the contrary paved the way for the fascists to power.

The supporters of the united front can now tell the workers that the reactionary elements in the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions were opposed and are now opposed to trade union unity, and sabotage united action against the capitalist offensive. But it *has been proved in practice* that as a result of the victory of the People's Front, as a result of the fact that trade union unity has been brought about, the workers have achieved a marked improvement of their conditions, in joint struggle. And it has also been *proved in practice* that the policy of the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party and of the German trade unions, the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and of splitting the trade unions, the policy of concessions and of sabotaging the struggle (when the calls of the Communists for joint strike struggle against the class enemy were denounced as acts of provocation)—this policy led to the victory of the Hitler dictatorship which wants to reduce the German workers to the level of Chinese coolies.

The Communists and all supporters of the united front will now tell the working class that the reactionary leaders of the Citrine type are sabotaging and preventing the establishment of the international fighting united front for peace, in the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie in their respective countries. These leaders rejected the proposals made by the Communist International on the eve of and at the very beginning of the Italo-Ethiopian war, regarding the establishment of the united front on an international scale against the fascist aggressor. And it is just because the international proletariat did not undertake independent and united action (by strike action and the adoption of other anti-war measures) that they did not succeed in crushing the robber war carried on by Italian fascism.

It is time to put a stop on an international scale to the fatal policy of concessions, to the policy of capitulation to the fascist warmongers, the policy which in Germany led to the victory of the National-Socialist Party. Let us set up a *powerful united front* on a national and international scale. And *just as the working class in France and Spain are succeeding, thanks to united action, in barring the way to fascism in their countries, so the united peace front will be able to bar the way to the fascist instigators of world war. Fascism will perish as a force hostile to the whole of mankind, under the pressure of the mighty people's front.*

And, really, there is no more burning, more important and more urgent task than that of establishing a united international working class front against the fascist war-makers.

And the main thing is *that the Communists and other supporters of the united front in all countries should extend the united front on an international scale, and develop it for a united struggle against the specific warmongers, and for peace.*

In May of this year there took place the latest plenary session of the E.C. of the Labor and Socialist International. Torn by international conflicts, it passed over in silence the question of united international action against the danger of war.

Recently, in July, there took place the Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. In its resolution the congress associated itself with the principle of real collective security, based on the League of Nations. And, of course, the French and Spanish delegations behaved correctly at the congress when they made a special declaration as an addendum to the resolution in which they stressed the point that the struggle against fascism and war requires the unification of all sections of the working class movement and of all sections of the working population.

The refusal to undertake independent united working class action, and the assertion that the League of Nations will take all the necessary measures to maintain peace, sow harmful illusions among the people, and hinder and weaken the struggle of the workers against war.

The workers and toilers who support the measures of the League of Nations directed towards the maintenance of peace under no circumstances forget that "the *main* thing in securing peace, the chief and decisive thing is independent action by wide sections of the people in

defense of peace and against specific instigators of war". (Dimitroff.)

And hitherto, in spite of the very urgent necessity for immediately establishing a united front for the struggle for peace, the reactionary leaders of the Labor and Socialist International have been doing everything to prevent its being brought into existence. Hitherto it is only in words that the leaders of the leading party in the Second International, the British Labor Party, have altered their line, which found its expression in the shameful position adopted by the *Daily Herald*, after March 7, *i.e.*, after the entry of Hitler's troops into the Rhineland. That was the continuation of the fatal policy of capitulation to fascism pursued by German Social-Democracy prior to the advent of Hitler to power, and which is now also paving the way for German fascism to fulfil its criminally aggressive plans.

It is true that under the pressure of the dissatisfaction and indignation of the working people against the position taken up by the *Daily Herald*, the Labor Party leaders adopted a declaration on May 15 in which they make Germany responsible for the maturing of the war danger, and condemn the violation of the Locarno agreement by Hitler. But in this half-hearted declaration, and especially in all their later activity, the Labor leaders have shown that they are against the united front. Every time the question of united action for peace has been raised in the Executive Committee of the Second International or in the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the British Labor leaders have undertaken a most determined struggle against unity. They in particular were responsible for the last plenary session of the E.C. of the Labor and Socialist International rejecting a decision to affiliate to the International Peace Congress. But now, especially after the events in France and Spain, when the plot of bloody fascism and international reaction against peace, democracy, and culture and against the independence of entire peoples has been made clear, it is to be hoped that the resistance to unity of action will finally be broken.

Only the united front of the international working class against imperialist war can become the driving force of a broad people's front of peace, and provide it with the necessary scope and force enabling it to break up all the acts of provocation of the warmongers.

That is why the Communists, who are developing a most active campaign on a broad scale for the international day of the struggle for peace, are making the proposal to the Social-Democratic Parties and all working class organizations in all capitalist countries that they *participate in united action on this day, without laying down any preliminary conditions other than joint united action in defense of peace.*

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IS A CONCRETE STRUGGLE

The forms and methods of the struggle against the warmongers will and must vary depending on the concrete conditions in each country, on its internal and world position, and the state of the working class movement. Only in this way is a really *international* struggle for peace possible, and only then will this struggle be a successful one.

"National forms of the proletarian class struggle and of the

> labor movement in the individual countries," declared Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, "are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely through these forms that the international interests of the proletariat can be successfully defended."

And if the central slogan now is the struggle to maintain peace and against the chief instigators of a world war and those who help them in each country, then it is clear that this slogan will be specific in relation to the conditions in each country.

In such countries as England where the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie favor and support the fascist war-makers, the Communists and all other honest friends of peace fight against this policy of compromise, of arrangements with and support of the fascist regime and its agression, and demand that support of every kind for the fascist governments be stopped.

In such countries as fascist Poland, the Communists and all other friends of peace are decisively for the cancellation of the arrangement arrived at with fascist Germany which threatens the independence of the Polish people, and carry on a struggle against their fascist rulers who are ready to lend the borders of Poland "on credit" to the chief instigators of war.

In France, which is threatened by the aggression of Hitler, the Communists and all other friends of peace, *who are the most determined and consistent fighters against the danger of a military onslaught by Hitler*, concentrate their fire against the agents and supporters of Hitler fascism in France itself, and carry on a determined struggle against all tendencies toward an agreement with the German aggressor at the expense of the interests and independence of the French people, and are the most self-sacrificing fighters for the operation of the Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact.

In such countries as Czechoslovakia, whose independence is directly threatened by the increasing aggression of Hitler fascism, the Communists and all other friends of peace struggle for determined measures to be taken to ward off this menace, and strive to increase the defensive power of the people by extending the democratic rights of the people, by satisfying their immediate needs, by democratizing the army, by curbing the agents of Hitler fascism, and by a merciless struggle against the parties, groups and individuals who are striving to come to an arrangement with Hitler at the cost of losing the independence of the republic of Czechoslovakia. *The Communists are taking the initiative in the struggle to defend the independence of the people by calling for the establishment of a united front against all those who wish to carry on the struggle to defend the Czechoslovakian republic against the onslaught of German fascism.*

The fact that *the Communists come forward as the foremost fighters in defense of the independence of their country against the fascist aggressor* and its internal agents is giving rise to the furious wrath and hatred of the reactionary elements of finance capital. In Switzerland,

where the menace of the expansion of German fascism is troubling wide sections of the people, the Communist Party has issued a call for the establishment of a government of the people's front, and the allocation of funds to such a government for the defense of the country. The Communist Party has issued the call for August 1 to be made a day of rallying all the forces of the people in defense of the independence of the country, and of the liberty of the people. The Conservative *Neue Zuricher Zeitung* of July 9 literally lost its self-possession. In its leading article, which abounds in obscene language, it appeals, on the one hand, to the reactionary trade union leaders, and on the other hand, calls on the police, "to adopt the necessary measures". The hysterical outburst of the *Neue Zuricher Zeitung* only confirms the point that the Communists in Switzerland have taken the correct road of rallying the people in defense of their country against the German fascists and their Swiss supporters.

What is wanted of the friends of peace is bold initiative not only in advancing specific slogans, but also in the selection *of the forms of the struggle* for peace in each country to correspond to the particular features of the country and the level of development of the mass movement.

The Communists advance slogans and propose forms of struggle to secure the fulfilment of which the widest sections of the people are prepared to undertake the struggle.

Never since the year 1914 has the menace of war, which arises out of the sharpening of all the contradictions of imperialism, been so great as today. *But never has the possibility of establishing a very wide and unassailable front of the peoples against war, and consequently the possibility of saving peace been so great as today.*

But the maintenance of peace is a mortal blow at fascism. The maintenace of peace is in the interests of the victory of socialism in all countries.

This is why the united front of the struggle for peace will be established in spite of all obstacles and against all resistance.

And this peace front will be victorious!

The Struggle Against Fascism Is a Struggle for Peace

By V. FLORIN

I

THE struggle to maintain peace and the struggle against fascism are inseparable. Fascism, which is the rule of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialistic elements of finance capital, means war. Fascism is transforming the countries where it is in power into military camps. As a result of frenzied war preparations, it is heading a new armaments race in all the capitalist countries of the world.

German fascism is the chief force making for war. It is provoking war in Europe, and is setting alight a new world conflagration. The whole of the home and foreign policy of the German government testifies to this.

It was the industrial and financial kings in all the capitalist countries throughout the world who were really to blame for the last world war. The Versailles Treaty, which declared Germany to be responsible for the war, provided the other imperialist grouping with a weapon to deceive the people of their respective countries, and at the same time rendered it possible for the German fascists to make demagogic use of this lie of the Entente imperialists for their own agitation.

We Communists know that it was not the working people of Germany, but the rich owners of the big factories, banks and estates in Germany as in the other imperialist countries, who wanted the war. By its struggle against the so-called "legend about Germany's guilt", fascism facilitates the ideological preparation of the German people for a new war. To some extent it is successful in this regard. The old armament barons and the former propertied princes who constituted the "flower" of the big landlords are once again masters of the situation. The speculators in Germany of the war years of 1914-18, and those who piled up wealth out of the inflation of 1922-23 are today lining their pockets with profits made on armaments and are ready to make fortunes out of war tomorrow.

We do not forget that 22 years ago, in August, 1914, the instigators of war drove the people to the bloody slaughter with these same hypocritical phrases on their lips about their love of peace and about the war being "forced on them". Wilhelm II compelled people to salute him as the emperor-peacemaker so that he could arm himself all the more energetically for the Great War. Hitler calculates that he will be able to deceive not only the German people but the whole world at the present day by putting on the mask of peace. "The people who want war are the French and the English, who do not wish to let the Germans have their place in the sun, who envy us and our successes." This is what the warmongers said in 1914. In just the same way Hitler wants to deceive

the German people so that he can drive them to the slaughter at the decisive moment. That is why the fascist organizers of war have made a number of "peace maneuvers" lately.

"Down with the last chains of the Versailles Treaty!" Millions of German people still do not know that the real meaning of this slogan in the mouths of the fascists is: "Make a new Versailles Treaty for other peoples." This is what the German people have to shed their blood for.

"We must first become masters in our own house. The Rhineland belongs to the Germans!" Many German toilers allow themselves to be caught by such phrases. They do not as yet understand that such "self-evident truths" actually cover up a direct threat to the French and Czechoslovak republics as well as to other neighboring nations.

"Germany needs colonies." Many German toilers allow themselves to be hypnotized by such ideas of equality without suspecting that behind all the foreign policy demands of Hitler fascism there is a striving to organize a plot against the world with a view of securing a new redivision of the world.

"We must not remain defenseless while others are arming." Millions of Germans consider this to be a sound argument. They do not guess that behind this sham defense there is being erected the most terrible machine for aggressive war ever known in world history.

In this way, step by step, fascism is carrying on its preparatory work, never for a moment losing sight of its goal—to make an armed attack on the neighboring peoples when the right moment arrives. So long as guns cannot "speak", fascism unhesitatingly makes use of every advantage in foreign politics put into its hands by its growing military power as a result of the support of certain imperialist powers. The successes thus achieved simply serve to increase its appetite. The latest events, the open declaration of the National-Socialist Greizer on the annexation of Danzig and the Austro-German agreement, are proof of this. Concessions to Hitler fascism in the sphere of foreign politics have already proved to be just as dangerous as when made in home affairs. The difference is that in foreign politics these concessions threaten the fate of Europe and of the whole world.

An understanding of this truth brings us again to the conclusion that there is only one way of curbing the fascist aggressor, namely, ". . . the front of peace stretching to all parts of the world, from Tokyo to London, from New York to Berlin, a front of peace which acts unitedly against the instigators of war, against German fascism in Europe, against the Japanese militarists in the Far East". (Dimitroff.)

II

In its home policy German fascism has always used the method of unexpected attacks on its opponents. It has transferred these methods of its home policy to foreign policy. The weapon it has always tried to use is that of splitting the ranks of its opponents, and of lulling them to sleep with deceptive hopes as to its alleged "loyalty", so as later to defeat them with greater certainty.

Let us call to mind a few facts from the sphere of home policy.

After the establishment of the Hitler dictatorship, Hitler's party did not immediately put forward the claim for "totality" in all spheres. It first dissolved the Communist Party, and left possibilities for the legal existence of Social-Democracy, the Center Party and the German Nationalists. Soon after the Social-Democrats had, on May 17, 1933, voted in the Reichstag for Hitler's foreign policy, Hitler used the favorable opportunity to drive the Social-Democrats underground as well. One after another he scattered all the bourgeois parties, even those towards which he had hypocritically expressed his friendship at the first stage of his rule and with which he had entered into a coalition, such as the German Nationalists and the "Steel Helmets". He defeated them piecemeal. This is one of the most fundamental features of all his tactics.

The second characteristic feature of Hitler's tactics is that he always struck his blows unexpectedly. For example, on May 1, 1933, the fascists promised the German workers, through Dr. Ley, the present leader of the German "Labor Front", that the trade unions would be left untouched. The following day, all trade union buildings in all parts of the country were occupied by the police and the Storm Troops, and the destruction of the trade union movement began. At the very moment when Dr. Ley was spreading the lie on Templehof Field (the place where the fascist May Day demonstration was organized) that the trade unions would not be touched, the last preparations were being made for an unexpected attack on them.

The second example is the opposition in the fascist camp itself. On the previous day, Hitler himself had been interested in his supporters striking terror into the hearts of the German Nationalists with the slogan of the "Second Revolution". Goebbels himself had talked of the "Second Revolution". But on June 30, 1934, Hitler astounded the whole world and above all the opposition itself by striking an annihilating blow at the supporters of the "Second Revolution".

Lying promises thus form an important part of the tactics of German fascism, their aim being to creep up on the quiet so as to strike successfully an unexpected blow. This applies not only to its home policy but to its foreign policy as well.

Let us call to mind that when Laval was negotiating with Hitler on the Saar region Hitler declared that after the return of the Saar district there would no longer be any territorial conflicts with France. Was not this said to create illusions, and thus make it easier to utilize the correct moment to militarize the Rhineland, thus directly menacing France? The German reply to the English questionnaire, if it is ever given, will undoubtedly be a new sample of trickery and lies. Did not Hitler write in his book *My Struggle* that a lie is one of the chief weapons of struggle? Are not all the peaceful declarations made by Hitler, which are in complete contradiction to his whole practice, falsehoods through and through?

Linked up with the method of surprise attacks on opponents is the deliberate use of the provocation. The firing of the Reichstag is the clearest example of monstrous provocation at home. The sudden occupation of the Rhineland is an act of provocation in the sphere of foreign

affairs, which has intensified the danger of a world war to a greater degree than at any time since 1914.

It is the task of the Communists to arouse the German people and all the peoples of the world to be vigilant in face of the military provocation threatening them from the side of Hitler, and to make them take the line of self-defense, and of the struggle for peace.

III

It is not the German people but fascism which wants war. German fascism is interfering in the internal affairs of all its neighboring countries (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries, Lithuania, Poland, Belgium, France, etc.), with the aim of preparing a military attack on peaceful nations. If fascism were to become the leading force in Europe it would mean the creation of a prison for the peoples, before which all corresponding parallels in history would pale. The fruits of centuries of the movement for liberation, and of democratic development are menaced with destruction. German fascism is carrying on unconcealed propaganda against the U.S.S.R., the land of socialism, of freedom and of peace. It would, however, be a fatal mistake if the neighboring countries were to harbor the illusion that Hitler intends to attack *only* the U.S.S.R.

Hitler Germany left the League of Nations for the purpose of freeing its hands for preparation for war. The entire attitude of Hitler Germany to the League of Nations is dictated by the effort to sabotage the struggle for peace led by the Soviet Union, and supported in a more or less consistent manner by France, Czechoslovakia and certain other capitalist countries.

The foreign policy of Hitler Germany is directed towards sowing conflict and demoralization among the peoples of Europe, inciting them against each other and destroying them one by one. This is shown by everything that is written in the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Hitler's chief organ. Hitler accuses some countries such as Czechoslovakia, Belgium and France of preparing for defense. He encourages others to arm themselves against a non-existent enemy (*e.g.*, Switzerland and Norway against the U.S.S.R.; Hungary and Poland against Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., etc.). The Hitler government tries to convert all economic treaties with weak countries into military political treaties which take a definite place in his criminal war plans. The Hitler regime tries to take advantage of any discord among the great powers so as to deepen the existing contradictions as much as possible. But Hitler fascism is first and foremost pursuing a course aimed at driving a wedge between the capitalist countries at present interested in peace, and the Soviet Union. At the same time Hitler is trying to intensify the disagreements between France and Great Britain, to make these disagreements insurmountable.

German fascism is the sworn foe of collective security. Hence its negative attitude towards the League of Nations. The Hitlerites defend the thesis of the localization of war. This is the thesis of the fascist warmongers, which virtually means that stronger countries are always

given the possibility of attacking weaker countries. It is the policy of imperialist aggression. It is the policy of a power which is trying by its maneuvers to sow dissension among peaceful powers, and to defeat them one by one.

The proposals made by Hitler to a number of countries and which have no other aim than that of the conclusion of military pacts and pacts of "benevolent neutrality" in case of war are directed against the powers interested in the maintenance of peace. The idea behind all these proposals is to split the front of the peaceful powers and to maneuver along with some of them against the League of Nations. Every country which concludes a pact with Hitler should remember that its people are threatened with the same fate as that which overtook the German Social-Democrats, the Center Party and the German Nationalists in the sphere of Germany's home policy.

The result of the Italo-Ethiopian war should not discourage the friends of peace, but serious lessons must be learned from this bitter experience so as to set bounds to fascist aggression. Is there any need to say that the fascists in Germany very rapidly tried to draw conclusions from the Ethiopian tragedy *in their own spirit?*

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, on May 17, 1936, exclaimed: "Down with this collective automatics", and declared that this slogan was the "chief conclusion" to be drawn from the Ethiopian experience. On June 5, 1936, the *Westfalische Landeszeitung* wrote:

> "In less than eight months, all the clouds which threatened to engulf both the military campaign and the public opinion of various countries; all these conclusions of experts, forecasts, problems and statements of prominent people have proved to be humiliated, destroyed or made ridiculous. *The first conclusion from this campaign is that there is only one means against speeches, sentiments and propaganda and that is—action.* . . . Action or its expression—'the accomplished fact'—alone solves the question. The 'fascist empire' is a living proof of this."

German finance capital can be seen in Europe in the most varied directions. The striving after German expansion threatens not only Austria and Czechoslovakia, but also all the Balkan countries, etc. They threaten weak Denmark, because it is the key to the strategic domination over the Baltic and is a jumping-off ground for the conquest of the whole of the Scandinavian north. The German fascists have repeatedly shown their appetites for Latvia and Lithuania. They openly say that the Ukraine must become "independent", *i.e.*, a colony of German fascism. They promise Poland parts of Lithuania and the Ukraine, they promise the Hungarians and Poles part of Czechoslovakia, and the Finns parts of Norway and the Soviet Union. In robber style they share their booty in advance, as did the groups in Germany who supported the war in 1914.

The imperialist thirst for aggression urges German fascism to make use of the lie about a "people without territory" for the ideological preparations for war among the masses. It is not a question of the German people having too little territory, but of the fact that the land and its wealth are unjustly distributed. It is the very people who have

the most luxurious palaces and castles, and possess the largest amount of land who have invented the slogan of "the fight for territory". Has the Italian peasant obtained a single foot of land more in his own country following on the conquest of Ethiopia? The colonists whom Mussolini has tricked into going to Ethiopia have only jumped out of the frying pan into the fire. A victorious war enriches the rich while the poor become still poorer. A war that is lost throws all the burdens of defeat on to the weak, while the rich can get rid of all the burdens and can even obtain advantages out of defeat. In reply to the statement that the German people require new lands we say: there is enough land in Germany to provide work and bread to the people, but it must be won by the people. To achieve this, the power of the large industrialists, the munition manufacturers, and big landowners over German economy must be destroyed.

IV

Hitler is firmly set on war, for the further reason that he sees in it a way out of his growing internal difficulties.

It was not by chance that it is in this situation that the central organ of the fascists conducted a "discussion" on the subject "Socialism or Capitalism". On July 7, 1936, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* published a letter containing the complaint that "some groups are drawing tremendous advantages at the expense of the rest of the population". The writer of the letter says: "If this is not capitalism of the purest water, I would like to know what is meant by capitalism," etc. Of course, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* carried on this discussion to prove that the workers must "make sacrifices" in the interests of German armaments. But the very fact that Hitler fascism thinks it expedient to conduct a discussion, even a "regulated" discussion, on such a ticklish subject, is extremely important. This shows most clearly how extremely dissatisfied the masses are with the results of Hitler's policy.

So long as peace is maintained in Europe, the difficulties of the Hitler regime will grow and the prerequisites for its overthrow will mature. The struggle for the maintenance of peace is therefore at the same time a struggle for the overthrow of Hitler, and, vice versa, the struggle to overthrow Hitler is at the same time a struggle for the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The German fascists know that peace is their greatest enemy. They are therefore doing everything which their regime can do to prevent quiet being established in Europe. They live and thrive on the ascendancy of disquiet and uncertainty.

The maintenance of peace is in the national interests of the German people. The fascist organizers of war defend the interests of an insignificant minority, the interests of the imperialists, thirsting for profits, against the national interests of the German people.

The future of the German people lies in friendly relations with their immediate and more distant neighbors, especially with the free peoples of the U.S.S.R. and with the French people who, organized in a People's Front, are successfully struggling against fascism and war.

Military intrigues against the U.S.S.R. are against the present and future national interests of the German people.

Our struggle for the maintenance of peace, against Hitler, is a struggle for the future of the German people. Every anti-fascist fighter must realize deeply the tremendous historical significance of the interrelations between these things.

There are many toilers in Germany who expect the overthrow of the dictatorship of Hitler only as a result of the defeat of Hitler Germany in a war, and therefore consider a war desirable, instead of understanding that it is the preservation of peace which will lead the Hitler regime into the greatest difficulties.

Anyone who supports such views in any way cannot naturally carry on a successful struggle for the maintenance of peace. The representatives of such views stand aside from the international movement of the proletariat, which is fighting for peace. They are in contradiction to this struggle for peace, and, thanks to their passivity towards the main instigator of war, share part of the blame for Hitler's leading the German people into a military catastrophe.

The Social-Democrats used to reproach us unjustly with speculating on war so as to facilitate and speed up the advent of revolution. This reproach came from the people who, owing to their disbelief in the forces of the working class, are now placing all their hopes in war, calculating that the military defeat of Germany will rapidly cause a change in the situation.

We have nothing in common with the fatalism which deduces the "inevitability" of a new world war from all the objective factors, and which sometimes wishes to prophesy the time and place of the new wars. No, we are carrying on a most determined struggle to prevent a new military adventure, we do not fatalistically acquiesce in "fate". We appeal with all the strength we have to all the friends of peace, and call on them to create an international united front for peace, strong enough to shackle the instigators of war and save humanity from the horrors of war. The Italo-Ethiopian war and the latest acts of provocation of German fascism have confirmed us still more in this outlook.

We German Communists represent the national interests of our people. We do not want millions of the best sons of our people to be wiped out as the result of war. In the same way, we German Communists reject the criminal idea held by the muddleheads and political speculators that the fate of fascism will be decided by an aggressive war against fascism. The assertion that the Soviet Union with its Red Army is setting itself the task to carry the revolution into Europe belongs to the foulest inventions of the propagandists of German fascism. "The export of revolution is nonsense. Every country if it so desires will make it own revolution. . . ." (Stalin.) All hope of overthrowing the Hitler dictatorship through a war is harmful.

The independent action of the masses in Germany against war remains the decisive task.

V

In order to fight for the maintenance of peace, a struggle must be

carried on in Germany for the overthrow of fascism. But the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship which has created a tremendous apparatus of violence to ensure its domination is a most difficult task in Germany, and one which no single anti-fascist party and its supporters can solve by itself. This task can only be solved if all the anti-fascist parties and organizations, groups and individuals collaborate, by forming a German People's Front.

It only became possible for the fascist dictatorship to entrench itself in Germany because the German working class parties and all the democratic forces did not unite to drive it back. After the fascists had established their rule they took advantage of the divisions in the ranks of the opposition, and first and foremost the split which continued in the ranks of the working class. Up to the present time, even among the German political emigrés, the united front has not yet been formed. Only now, in June, 1936, have the first welcome steps been taken in this direction.

We Communists openly declare that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Germany is not an immediate question. The struggle for the overthrow of the Hitler dictatorship is the immediate issue. Possibilities exist for uniting all the opposition forces on a common political platform, on the basis of a program of action for the struggle for a democratic Germany. The terrible danger of war demands that this intensification take place immediately.

We Communists are ready to fight for the establishment after the overthrow of Hitler of a democratic republic, a different type of republic from the weak Weimar republic which fell under the blows of reaction. It will be a republic where the owners of the munition factories will no longer be the dictators of industry, where the Junker landowners will no longer have preferential rights to the land, where the country will be swept clean of the fascist pestilence and where a democratic system will be set up. It will be a republic which guarantees the working class the right to organize and to strike, and which will give the widest freedom of speech and press to its organizations.

The Communists have declared that they are prepared to come to an agreement with all the forces of the German opposition. The overthrow of Hitler, the establishment of a democratic regime will in any case be a tremendous step forward.

The overthrow of the Hitler regime will only be possible as the result of a great national uprising in which the alliance of the working class and the peasants will find expression, and in which all the existing opposition organizations take common action. The preparations for the organization of this uprising of the people demand the exertion of all opposition forces in the country and outside it. We must first and foremost intensify the struggle for peace, carry on a better struggle against fascist propaganda, and lead the working people of Germany through the struggle for partial demands to the struggle against the regime itself. The task of breaking away from fascism the strata of the working people who are under its influence is one which must be solved by bringing about the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front.

VI

If the fall of Hitler can only be brought about by the victory of a general people's movement, and if there is not a single party in a position to organize this movement single-handed, then all the anti-fascist organizations and parties must close their ranks, and must come to an agreement. If the fall of the Hitler dictatorship can only be brought about by a movement of the people—and this is undoubtedly the case—then the masses who take part in this struggle will very reasonably demand guarantees that the People's Front will continue after the overthrow of fascism as well as exist as a real guarantee of the victory over fascism. We must agree with this. The anti-fascist People's Front must be preserved after the overthrow of Hitler as well, so as to strengthen the new democratic regime in its struggle against the old reaction, to make it capable of operating the program of action of the People's Front, and provide the people with bread, work and freedom.

We are striving to establish the proletarian united front and the anti-fascist People's Front. The program of action of a fighting People's Front will be our program of action as well. We Communists have made our corresponding proposals. In Paris, well-known Social-Democrats, Communists and bourgeois politicians and writers have formed a joint committee for the preparation of a German People's Front. Cooperation has been secured between the Social-Democrats and Communists, and it is this which has led to the possibility of establishing the above-mentioned committee.

If this cooperation were spread to all parts of Germany it would facilitate the establishment of united action between the parties and would make it possible to set up the People's Front in Germany itself. The cooperation between the Social-Democrats and Communists at the Paris Conference called to deal with the rights of asylum, the mutual assistance proposed in the struggle against the Gestapo (secret police) and, we hope, collaboration at the conference to deal with the question of amnesty and peace—these are successes from which each side can learn lessons and draw practical conclusions. What is needed is that the collaboration which takes place from case to case should grow into a firm unity of struggle. This is our aim now.

We must fight more energetically to restore the free trade unions. In every factory solid circles of former members of the free trade unions can and must be gathered together. And is not a joint struggle for the youth especially urgent? Is it not clear to everyone who values freedom and peace that the task of winning the youth, our youth, away from the poisonous influence of fascism and the chauvinist warmongers is of decisive importance? The anti-fascist forces must unite to establish a first-class youth movement in Germany.

The members of the former religious trade unions and the forces of the Catholic Center must be drawn into the movement to establish the People's Front in Germany. With our clear prospects of the formation of a democratic republic no serious obstacles remain any longer to prevent their cooperation. It will, therefore, become possible for the Communists to establish new contacts, new relations between the Com-

munists and the Center organizations, just as these relations are being successfully brought about between the Social-Democrats and the Communists. If we take as the point of our departure the progressive traditions of this movement from the time of the struggle against Bismarck, recognize the value of the opposition of the Center to the Hitler regime, we can use our influence over the masses and rouse even those who have hitherto opposed this cooperation and have fired more ammunition in the struggle against the Communists than against Hitler. The masses and also the active members of the Christian trade unions regard the Communists as their brothers, and, however great their differences of opinion, in one thing they agree, namely, in the great truth that together they can fight for freedom, rights and a just social order. If these trade union officials use their influence and their rights in the movement, the urge for the People's Front will increase and will draw the Center Party with it.

Collaboration among the Social-Democrats, Communists and supporters of the Center will not only triple their forces, but increase them tenfold, will hasten the fall of Hitler and will facilitate the maintenance of peace in Europe.

". . . The most reactionary variety of fascism is the German type of fascism, which brazenly calls itself National-Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common with socialism, or with the defense of the real national interests of the German people, and merely fulfils the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only bourgeois nationalism but also bestial chauvinism. . . .

"German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the shock troop of international counter-revolution." (*From the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff.*)

The Farmer-Labor Party—The People's Front in the U.S.A.*

By EARL BROWDER

THE program of building a people's front against reaction, fascism and war, elaborated by Comrade Dimitroff in his historic report to the Seventh World Congress, is being carried out also in the U.S.A. and takes the form of gathering the mass organizations of the toilers—hitherto without independent political roles—into a federation with the still small Communist and Socialist Parties, to make up what has come to be known in our country as a Farmer-Labor Party. At the Seventh Congress of the C. I. Comrade Dimitroff said:

> "It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must at the proper time find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad discontented masses of the toilers. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a '*Workers' and Farmers' Party*', might serve as such a suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America* that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither* Socialist *nor* Communist. But it *must* be an anti-fascist party and must *not* be an anti-Communist party."**

The C.P.U.S.A. has undertaken as its central task in this period to assist the toiling masses in breaking away from the capitalist parties, and to achieve political independence through such a Farmer-Labor Party.

Political reaction is threatening the United States, as in Europe. There has taken place a great concentration of the most reactionary forces in the country, preparing for a mighty effort to seize power through the presidential elections, on behalf of a small group of rich families—the du Ponts, Morgans, Mellons, Hearsts. They have formed a central organization of leaders of the two chief bourgeois parties, Republican and Democratic, which they call the "Liberty League". This body has put forward a platform containing all the essential features of a drive towards fascism. Its program has been taken over by the Republican Party, and rallies all the most reactionary forces of the Democratic Party. It is determined to oust the Democratic President, Roosevelt, and place the Republican candidate, Landon, into office.

The chief figure in this reactionary scheme is William Randolph

* Written on the eve of the Ninth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which was held on June 24-28, 1936.

** *The United Front Against War and Fascism*, p. 40. Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1936

Hearst, multi-millionaire and newspaper publisher, symbol of the blackest reaction in America. He is the foe of everything enlightened and decent in public life. He is the defender of Hitler and Mussolini in his newspapers, and molds his domestic policy upon their example. Of Hearst it was said by a foremost American scholar and historian, Dr. Charles A. Beard, speaking to the National Educational Association, Feb. 22, 1935:

> "There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. He has pandered to depraved tastes and has been an enemy of everything that is noblest and best in the American tradition. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a ten-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end."

Landon, Republican candidate for President, is Hearst's man. He was an obscure provincial governor until Hearst picked him up recently, pressed his candidacy and, with the backing of practically the whole circle of Wall Street financiers, carried his nomination through the Republican Convention. He is backed by Hoover, who was President from 1928 to 1932.

Landon represents the Hearst-Liberty League bloc, of whom the general public accepts the description of "fascist-minded men". Its program is to smash the trade unions, throw the unemployed millions onto local aid and charity by abolishing the national government relief system, suppress the popular organizations and movements, confirm the dictatorial powers of the Supreme Court, break off relations with the Soviet Union, and throw the U.S. in the international arena on the side of Hitler fascism.

The main enemy of the peace, freedom and prosperity of the American toiling people today is this combination of the Republican Party, Hearst, and the Liberty League.

What is the role of Roosevelt in this situation? He attempts to steer a course between the Hearst program, on one hand, and the interests and demands of the people on the other. Strong pressure from the masses has brought some concessions from Roosevelt; but strong pressure from the Republicans and Liberty League wrings from him greater concessions to the reactionaries—at the expense of the masses. This is seen today in the catastrophic situation of the unemployed, driven by reductions of relief to desperate actions in occupying city halls and state buildings; this situation arises from Roosevelt's surrender to the demands of the Liberty League. The Supreme Court has dared to cancel all Roosevelt's mild social legislation, and now proceeds to liquidate labor legislation of the separate states—only because Roosevelt has not dared to rouse the masses of the people against this usurpation.

It is clear that it would be a fatal mistake for the workers to depend upon Roosevelt to make the necessary battle to defeat the Republican Party reaction and the Liberty League forces within his own Democratic Party.

STAND OF MAIN CAMPS WITHIN THE WORKING CLASS

William Green and the Executive Council of the American Federa-

tion of Labor head the extreme Right wing of the organized labor movement. Their position in the election campaign is signalized by the appearance of Green before the resolutions committee of the Republican Convention where he, in defiance of the decisions of the last A. F. of L. Convention, advocated a series of reactionary measures. He spoke against curbing the power of the Supreme Court, for deportation of foreign-born workers, for breaking diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, fully in the spirit and letter of Hearst and the Liberty League. Even the liberal bourgeois newspaper *The New York Post* was moved to protest, declaring:

> "William Green's appearance before the platform committee of the Republican Convention demonstrated his unfitness to be the head of the American Federation of Labor. . . . William Green was giving aid and comfort to the worst reactionaries and the worst enemies of labor in this country. Who wants withdrawal of Russian recognition? Hearst, who failed to get concessions from Russia, want it. Hitler wants it, to facilitate war. Japan wants it, to make it easier for her to wage war. . . . Why does he link himself with the enemies of labor, with reaction? It is time the A. F. of L. had a new head."

In this shameful reactionary position, however, William Green misrepresents the bulk of the organized labor movement. The laboring masses organized in the A. F. of L. are keenly conscious of the menace of Republican Party reaction. Their position, with its strength and also its weaknesses and shortcomings, is much better represented by the leaders of the progressive industrial union bloc, John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and David Dubinsky. This group has sounded the alarm against the menace of fascism and war, represented by the Republican Party, and, without endorsing the Democratic Party, are working for the re-election of President Roosevelt through a new organization called Labor's Non-Partisan League, which they indicate may take the path of the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party at a later time.

The Socialist Party adopted a confused and ambiguous position at its convention. It refused the offer of the Communist Party for joint action in the election campaign, nominated Norman Thomas for President, and adopted a platform without mention of the united front or the Farmer-Labor Party. It sees "fascist trends" only in general, and warns against the thought that the Republican Party is its chief expression; some of its spokesmen declare that Roosevelt represents the chief fascist danger. At the same moment Norman Thomas wrote:

> "The Roosevelt administration is probably about as liberal as any capitalist administration in America is likely to be. . . . Those who want reforms . . . better stick to the Roosevelt administration."

This combination of ideas, that Roosevelt represents the fascist trend and at the same time gives the people all they can get without socialism, leads the Socialist Party to a very sectarian course in the election campaign, causes it to abandon all immediate steps toward a united front with the Communists or to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party.

PROSPECTS OF THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

At the same time the Farmer-Labor Party movement is growing rapidly. Hundreds of local parties are already in existence or in process of being formed. Several states have serious Farmer-Labor Parties in the field, fighting for Congressmen and state administrations. Mass movements within the old capitalist parties are moving towards separation and towards unity with the Farmer-Labor Party movement. This is especially seen in the Epic movement of California, which leads a large part if not the majority of the Democratic Party following; in the Commonwealth movement in Washington, with a similar position; in the Non-Partisan League movement in North Dakota, which in the past has dominated the Republican Party of that state. The movement in the trade unions has become formidable, but in its national expression is still dominated by the Labor's Non-Partisan League exclusive orientation on Roosevelt.

The possibility for unification on a national scale of the Farmer-Labor Party movement in 1936 faced a serious difficulty in the sweep of the Roosevelt support through the ranks of labor and the farmers. It was clear that the movement was not prepared to put a presidential ticket in the field against Roosevelt, and that any effort to do so would split the movement and set it back for a long time.

When, therefore, a call was issued by the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, which controls the administration of that state, for a national conference to examine the possibility of calling a constituent congress for a national party this year, but excluded the possibility of naming a presidential ticket, the Communists and their sympathizers throughout the Farmer-Labor movement agreed to participate in the conference upon this basis. Our Party declared:

> "In the Farmer-Labor Party this year it is necessary to have a united front between those, like the Socialists and Communists, who will have an independent presidential ticket, and the broad trade union movement which is supporting Roosevelt."

In entering such a conference, the Communist Party made a clear declaration of its independent position. It declared:

> "We Communists can enter such a united front with workers who support Roosevelt. Of course, we do not commit ourselves to Roosevelt in any way by this. Our position towards Roosevelt is clear. We do not cancel a word of our criticism of Roosevelt. We do not and will not take any responsibility for him. But we will not break off united front relations with those organizations because they go with Roosevelt. We have in common with them a growing number of aims and opinions, among them the aim to defeat the reactionary Republican Party and its allies, as the main enemy of peace and happiness of the American people, the chief force making for reaction, fascism and war."

This position of the Communist Party made it possible to bring together a national conference of 85 representatives of all sections of the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party, in Chicago on May 30 and 31.

THE WORK OF THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE

Despite its heterogeneous composition, the Chicago Conference arrived at unanimous decisions on all the questions which it had set for itself.

On the organizational question, the conference declared for "the formation of a national party of farmers, labor, liberal middle class, and professional and unemployed workers' organizations". It advocated "the launching of independent Farmer-Labor and liberal Congressional candidates in the various states and districts where there may be a chance of success in 1936". It named a National Council of 25, to work with the State Committee of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party which was "asked actively to contact and seek the cooperation of significant and representative organizations". It decided that "the formal sponsorship of calling a determining convention for the launching of a national party should be left open at this time and that the Farmer-Labor Association of Minnesota be given discretionary powers to decide the form of action in consultation with the Advisory Council".

This action was taken on the motion of trade union representatives who work in close contact with the progressive trade union leaders composing Labor's Non-Partisan League. It was felt by the conference that a wide possibility of united action between the Farmer-Labor Party movement and Labor's Non-Partisan League is opening up, and that full consultation should be had before final action is taken. This was in agreement with the declaration of the Communist Party before the conference, which had pointed out:

> "The Farmer-Labor Party Convention, clearly, must also approach the new Labor's Non-Partisan League, in order to work out the fullest possible degree of cooperation between these two most important wings of the working class political mass movement at this time. We say to the trade unions who support Roosevelt, we disagree with you, but at least you should organize your own forces, independently, to fight for labor's demands like the Liberty League organized the reactionaries on the other side."

The fact that friendly messages were sent to the gathering by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers Union; Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union; and David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union—the three strongest and most important unions of the progressive wing of the labor movement—is evidence of the growing mass support to the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party.

Following their sectarian line, the Socialist Party leaders absented themselves from the conference.

On the question of a declaration of purpose and platform, the conference unanimously adopted a statement which is a distinct advance over any previous effort of this kind. This document reads as follows:

> "We live in a country whose natural resources, machinery of production, and technical equipment are ample to provide material well-being for all. Yet increasing millions of farmers, workers, middle class and professional people live in want and

degradation, or face insecurity, unemployment and poverty. The major political parties—controlled by the banks and corporations—are unable or unwilling to end this tragic state of affairs. Yet it can and must be ended.

"The Conference therefore recognizes the need to form a national Farmer-Labor Party, based on and controlled by trade union, farm, unemployed, professional and cooperative organizations, united for independent political action.

"Such a Farmer-Labor Party will aim to rescue government from the privileged few and make it function to provide security for all, by abolishing monopoly in every form, by introducing public ownership of the nation's basic resources, and by inaugurating an economy of abundance through production for use.

"This Farmer-Labor Party welcomes the cooperation of all those who accept its principles and support its program.

"I. *Social Security and Relief:* The people of the United States must be protected against the economic hazards inherent in our present economic system. To this end we aim to establish a federal system of social insurance which will provide compensation for all who are deprived of normal income by reason of unemployment, old age, physical disability, maternity, widowhood, and similar reasons. Such compensation should be at least equal to the amount of earnings lost but in no case less than is required to assure a decent standard of living. Such social insurance should be financed by taxing high incomes, inheritances, gifts, and large accumulations of corporate and personal wealth, thus assuring a more equitable distribution of wealth and purchasing power. Pending enactment of such social insurance, we favor and will support the demands of the unemployed for a comprehensive public works program to provide jobs at trade union wage rates and for adequate relief and relief standards.

"II. *Labor:* We assert labor's basic role in producing the nation's wealth, and will support, through appropriate legislation, the efforts of labor to raise wages, improve working conditions and bring about higher living standards through the establishment of the thirty-hour week without reduction in weekly earnings; for trade union wage rates on all public works; for unrestricted right of organization into trade unions, to strike and picket; for outlawing of company unions, of industrial spies and of use of injunctions, military and other coercive measures and forces against labor. Labor is entitled to and should be afforded the opportunity to benefit from such economies as result through the use of labor-displacing machinery and devices, and from mergers, consolidations, and coordination of properties and enterprises.

"III. *Farmers:* Recognizing that a farm family's labor constitutes a prior claim to his farm home, chattels and livestock, we propose securing farmers against evictions or property seizure by long moratoriums. Government refinancing of farm debts so as to reduce the interest rate to one and one-half percent. We stand opposed to the policy of crop reduction and advocate an increase in the production of farm products to meet the food requirements of the nation with government guarantees of average cost of production. For the widest possible extension of democratically controlled farm cooperative enterprises under

a program which protects the interests of farmers and consumers alike.

"IV. *Youth:* The present system is fast destroying youth through denial of opportunity for useful and creative work. We advocate and will undertake to secure passage of a measure that will provide adequate funds for a youth program that can give youth the opportunity for education and work.

"V. *Democratic Rights:* We stand for the preservation and extension of the democratic rights of a free people. We therefore favor and will support such measures as are necessary to curb the usurped powers of the Supreme Court and reassert the power of Congress to enact adequate social and labor legislation for the general welfare. We stand for the abolition of all restrictions on the franchise; for unrestricted freedom of speech, of the press, and of the right to assemble and demonstrate; for unconditional equal rights for Negroes and against discrimination, segregation and lynchings to which they are subject; against deportation and other forms of persecution of the foreign-born and for the restoration of the right of political asylum to fighters against reaction and fascism.

"VI. *Peace:* We are unalterably opposed to wars and favor such measures as will strengthen collective security against imperialist war."

The decisions and the platform given above, adopted by the Chicago Farmer-Labor Party Conference, constitute a decisive advance on the road to independent political action of the American toiling people, in a degree never before seen. It laid a firm foundation for steady progress, with a national leadership and a national platform already taking tangible form.

THE COMMUNISTS IN THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

One important sector of the Farmer-Labor movement absented itself from the Chicago Conference, on the grounds that the Communists had been invited to participate, and that they refused to associate in any way with them. This action was taken by the Wisconsin Farmer-Labor Progressive Association. Thus the issue of Communist participation was raised in its sharpest form before the conference. The spokesman for the Communist Party addressed the conference, dealing with this and other questions of principle involved in a speech which became a document for the Farmer-Labor movement, and is therefore quoted here in full:

"This Conference is a most promising beginning to get together the scattered forces of workers, farmers, and middle classes for independent political action. Never was this more needed. The latest Supreme Court decision invalidating the Guffey Act is a challenge that can be met only by an all-inclusive national Farmer-Labor Party and a drive to put its representatives into Congress. Revelations of the Black Legion in Detroit show how deep the fascist poison is being driven among the people. These trends have their source, their guiding spirit, their financial stimulus, in the Liberty League and Hearst. This was revealed by the La Follette senatorial investigation into the denials of civil rights. All the most reactionary forces are now

gathering around the Republican Party, determined to fully impose their power on the country. It is impossible for us to believe that Roosevelt will halt this trend toward reaction and fascism in America; he is retreating before reaction and his own party, especially in the South, is itself too deeply reactionary. Only a Farmer-Labor Party can rally the progressive forces of the country, halt the trends towards fascism, and preserve American democratic liberties.

"I speak for the Communists and their associates in pledging full and loyal support to this effort. We are but a small group here. But throughout the country we influence an important and growing movement, which brings to the Farmer-Labor Party energetic and steadfast support. We know that some persons have stayed away from this conference, stating as their reasons that their demand for our exclusion was not adopted. Some who are here may also be influenced by Hearst's anti-Red campaign, and may be afraid of association with us. Permit me a few frank words on this question.

"Since Al Smith and Hearst declared that even the New Deal stands for the red flag and revolution, it seemed that we Communists should have become almost respectable. The campaign against Roosevelt has as little justification in fact as the campaign against us; he is certainly not Communistic. These are the slogans of reaction, designed to confuse, divide and defeat the working population. If we want victory against reaction, then we must not look for excuses to divide, but rather for all possible ways to unite.

"It is true we Communists are revolutionists. That is our right guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. In this we follow the hallowed American tradition, associated with such names as Washington, Jefferson, Tom Paine, and Lincoln. We differ from our forefathers in this respect, only in this—that we come 160 years later, and face a deeper crisis.

"We help build the Farmer-Labor Party. We do not propose to give it a program of revolution, now or later. We do not ask it to adopt Communist principles. We ask only that it shall not adopt the Hearst anti-Red campaign, which harms the broadest progressive movement more than it does the Communists, and that it allow the Communists to help build the party.

"We know that America, while its people are not ready to fight for socialism, is fully ripe for a Farmer-Labor Party. Such a Party will not bring socialism, but it will greatly lessen the pains of a later transition to socialism. That is why we can wholeheartedly and fully support the Farmer-Labor Party, even though its program should contain only immediate demands, without abandoning our Communist opinions. We do not want to push its program to the Left.

"Let me briefly repudiate some of the most serious charges made against us. Some say that we 'advocate violence', that we are conspirators and terrorists, that we are against democracy. That is not true. It is as far from correct as if those charges were made against Washington, and Lincoln. We know too well how much the toilers suffer from reactionary violence. When, however, we say that we are not pacifists nor non-resisters, we are in the best tradition of Americanism. Since when have Americans been pacifists? We support and fight for the democratic

rights of the masses. We want to see them used to the utmost to gain everything possible by them. We would subscribe to such a declaration against violence which would not be a pacifist repudiation of America's birth as an independent nation or of the great Lincoln.

"It has been charged that we seek control of the Farmer-Labor Party. If true, that would be a great stupidity on our part. Control is the last thing we need or seek. A mass movement should have no such fears. We will for some time be a small minority, though a useful one. Even if we grow much stronger we will not want or seek control. We want only such influence in the Farmer-Labor Party Councils that can be exerted through the democratic process of convincing arguments, with loyal and energetic work.

"We want to join all others in building a broad popular movement of workers, farmers, and middle classes, to protect and advance their own interests.

"Can this conference proceed with its work, with a few Communists in its midst, with confidence that it is on the correct path to success? Yes, it can, if it recalls the recent events in France and Spain, where the People's Front, including the Communists, saved those countries from the Hitler system. It can, if it looks over the country and sees, in city after city, in the trade unions, among the unemployed, the youth, the students, the Negroes, among the local Farmer-Labor Parties—everywhere, the most successful movements are those which have full unity, which exclude only enemies, which rally all forces against the real enemy—Wall Street and its agents.

"At the proper time I want to make some suggestions toward the program discussion. Now it is sufficient to urge this conference to adopt the basis of a broad unity, and to fulfil the expectations of a great movement rising throughout America, by deciding to call an all-inclusive national Farmer-Labor Party Convention. Such a convention can establish this year, in all respects except a presidential ticket, that national Farmer-Labor Party which we need so much. If we begin now, then by 1940 it can become one of the first two parties in the land."

After this declaration of the Communist Party, the issue of Communist participation in the coming national Farmer-Labor Party was not raised in the conference, the Communists took active part in all the discussions and decisions and it was accepted that a unified national Farmer-Labor Party in the United States necessarily involves the inclusion of the Communist Party as one of the decisive even though minority factors.

Meanwhile the Communist Party approaches its own Ninth National Convention, in the course of which it will name an independent Communist presidential ticket, and map out its own independent campaign, closely integrated with the campaigns of the local and state Farmer-Labor Parties wherever these exist and of which the Communist Party local and district organizations have become organic parts.

Through all these developments, the Communists have strengthened and deepened their roots among the American masses, and are becoming an important influence in the political life of the United States.

Against the Enemies of the People*

By DOLORES IBARRURI

SENOR DEPUTIES! Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, this time the Communist fraction agrees with the proposal, although not with the bill, introduced by Gil Robles, which emphasizes the need for putting an end as quickly as possible to the disorder which reigns in our country. But while we are in agreement in principle that such a necessity exists—our further paths part, for in seeking the truth and in drawing the conclusions we consider necessary, the path we take is different to that taken by Gil Robles—our paths counterpose and contradict one another.

M. Gil Robles made a beautiful speech and I will give it a precise answer. Although M. Casares Quiroga** has already given an exhaustive answer to M. Calvo Sotello***, exposing the latter's intention to spread the dissension with which he appeared this evening in Parliament and calculating, of course, that his words would have influence beyond the walls of parliament—I am, however, of necessity compelled to dwell upon a number of concrete cases and on the activity of M. Calvo Sotello himself.

M. Gil Robles, as I have already said, made a beautiful speech, as beautiful and wordy a speech as he usually makes when, in the role of a faultless leader—be it not said in reproach of him—he makes the rounds of the towns and villages, preaching the gospel of Christian Socialism, of just reward for service—although this "justice" when Gil Robles himself took an active part in the government was expressed in such acts as the establishment of the "Christian" wage of from 1½ to 2 pesetas**** per day for agricultural workers.

M. Gil Robles is a shrewd parliamentarian and a no less skilful orator who makes use of effective phrases, and resorts to arguments which are not too convincing and not so very sound, arguments as unsubstantial as, for example, the assertion that the government has not given any support to the employers. Using incorrect arguments, he, of course, came to incorrect conclusions. In full accord with the will of the rich men who sent him to parliament, the will which His Honor, as well as his adherents, are able to fulfil so skillfully, he operates here

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* Speech of Comrade Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, delivered in the Spanish Parliament, June 16, 1936.

** Casares Quiroga—former leader of the "District Autonomous Organization of Galicia", National Party of Galicia which later on fused with the party of Azana (Left Republican). Prior to the election of Azana as President of the Republic, Casares Quiroga was Minister of Internal Affairs. From March 10 to June 19, 1936, he was chairman of the Council of Ministers. The following words of Casares Quiroga, in his speech directed against Gil Robles, deserve attention: "The government does not intend to punish the workers in order to please you."

*** Calvo Sotello—leader of the Fascist Monarchist Party "The Spanish Renaissance" uniting the representatives of the old aristocracy and part of the reactionary bourgeoisie, orientated himself on Italian fascism. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera he was his most trusted adherent. Up till recently he jointly with Gil Robles headed the reactionary forces in Spain. Sotello was killed on July 13 in Madrid.

**** One peseta equals approximately 13 cents.

with a number of events which have taken place in Spain, which we all regret, in order in this way to demonstrate the inadequacy of the measures taken by the government and the failure of the People's Front. His Honor began by enumerating only those events which have taken place after February 19*, and as was correctly pointed out by the Deputies who have spoken on this question, he did not come to any conclusion. For example, he did not come to the conclusion that it is necessary to find out who is responsible for these events. M. Gil Robles is surely not unaware that after some of the church fires, church valuables which under normal circumstances had no right to be there, were discovered in the houses of the clergymen belonging to these churches. [*Much movement on the Right benches, shouts of approval from the benches of the People's Front.*]

I shall cite facts because facts are more convincing than all rhetorical phrases, more convincing than all fine words, for correct conclusions can be drawn from facts; history is written on the basis of facts. Inasmuch as I assume that M. Gil Robles as a Christian must love truth he should be interested in having the history of Spain written correctly. I shall try to refresh his memory with facts, and in contrast to the sophisms of M. Gil Robles I shall cite arguments in order to prove the correctness of the deductions which I shall make in my speech.

Permit me however, gentlemen, first to throw a ray of light on the double game, on the maneuvers of the Rights. They organize acts of provocation on the streets and then they send a few men to Parliament who, with expressions of innocent babes [*laughter*] question the government as to what is really going on and where we are going. [*Stormy applause.*] Gentlemen of the Right! You come here, tearing your disgraced garments, and covering your heads with ashes, while someone, as was already stated by Comrade de Francisco**, whom you know very well and whom, by the way we also know very well, places an order for uniforms for the Civil Guard for purposes known to you and not unknown to us.

And through the northern border of Navarro, the Spanish Vendee, Mr. Calvo Sotello transports arms and ammunitions, of course with less noise and less pomp than the act of provocation in Vera del Bidasca*** organized by the dastardly murderer Martinez Anido. And Your Honor collaborated with the murderer. [*Exclamations, "Hear, Hear!" Thunderous applause on the Left benches.*] No matter how disgraceful it may be for the Spanish republic it is necessary to state that neither Martinez Anido nor Your Honor who helped him were turned over to the court. [*Thunderous applause.* CALVO SOTELLO: *"I protest against these insults directed toward a person who is absent." The Speaker rings the bell and calls for order.*]

As I have already stated, facts are much more convincing than

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* The date when the government of Azana came to power after the victory of the People's Front in the elections of February 16, 1936. It is for this reason that Gil Robles devoted his attacks to the events which have transpired after February 19.

** De Francisco, secretary of the Madrid organization and secretary of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party.

*** During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, a monarchist act of provocation took place in Vera del Bidasca as a result of which many people were wounded and killed.

words. I shall not limit myself only to events which have taken place after February 19 but shall also dwell on the events which preceded this date, because the storm which is raging today is the result of the wind of yesterday. [*"Hear, hear!"*]

What transpired after the time when the genuine republican elements and Socialists gave up power? What transpired after the time when the persons who cover themselves with the mantle of republicanism [*"Very good!"*] under the pretext of extending the base of the government joined with you, anti-republicans, in a coalition government?

The following took place: In the villages the eviction of the small tenant farmers became a mass phenomenon; the Municipal Councils in Biscay were subjected to persecution, the Catalonian constitution was curtailed; all democratic liberties were trampled upon, labor legislation was not observed, the so-called law regarding the municipal districts, as already stated by Comrade de Francisco, was abolished. The workers were persecuted in every way. As a result of this there accumulated such hatred, such great dissatisfaction that it had to break through in some way, and it did break through. There came the glorious October* of which we, all Spanish citizens who have political sense and a feeling of our own dignity and are conscious of our responsibility for the fate of Spain in the face of the plots of the fascists, are proud. [*"Hear, hear!"*]

All of these events which developed in Spain during the period which has been so fittingly called "The Black Two Years",** took place, M. Gil Robles, not only with the support of the official authorities, who based themselves upon the state apparatus of violence, but also with the cooperation of the scum of capitalist society, the declassed elements and the lumpen proletariat. They were bribed, given revolvers and guaranteed immunity from punishment, and all that was demanded of them was that they should attack the workers and begin to destroy those who came forward in the struggle. The leaders of the Left wing—the Socialist Canales, Joaquin de Grado, Juanita Rico, Manuel Andres and many others fell victims of these gangs of hired murderers, headed by M. Calvo Sotello, and a certain Senorita*** whose names arouse rage among the Spanish workers because they mean destruction and shame for Spain [*"Hear, hear!"*] and the miserable young cretins who envy the victories and bloody glory of Hitler and Mussolini. [*All the Deputies of the People's Front without exception enthusiastically applaud the speaker.*]

Then, as I have already stated, the October explosion took place, the glorious October, which represented the instinctive self-defense of the people against the fascist danger, for the people, moved by the true instinct of self-preservation, realized what fascism is. They understood that what was at stake was not only life but also freedom and personal dignity which are dearer than life itself. The people who were

* Revolutionary events in Spain in October, 1934.

** The years 1934-36, when the reactionary government was in power.

*** Apparently here the speaker meant Pilar Primo de Rivera, the daughter of the late dictator of Spain, who jointly with her brother Antonio leads the fascist organization, "National-Syndicalist Opposition Association" and the Spanish "Phalanx". Took part in the murder of the young Socialist Juanita Rico in Madrid in 1934.

given the task of suppressing the movement were M. Gil Robles, and other such scoundrels, and they committed such barbarous atrocities as the history of oppression and repression of no other country has ever known.

Thousands of imprisoned and tortured! Women crucified on the stocks for refusing to give up their dear ones! Children shot to death! Mothers who went mad at the sight of the tortures to which their sons were subjected! Men whose sexual organs were torn out! Recall Carbayin, San Estevan de las Cruces, Villafria, La Cabana, San Pedro de los Arcos, and lastly, the murder of Luis de Sirval!* [*The People's Front Deputies arise and burst into long applause. The ovation is renewed several times, the Deputies continuing to stand. The journalists applaud from their table.*] The hundreds and thousands of people subjected to torture testify to the way the law is administered by the Rights, by those who call themselves Catholics and Christians. And all of this M. Gil Robles enveloped in a whole cloud of slander. [MARCOS MIRANDA: "*And all of this was denied!*"] It was all flooded by a huge stream of false accusations because the people in power were at that time already very well aware that the answer of the people would be horrible if they learnt what was actually transpiring, particularly in Asturias.

The falsest of rumors, the most malicious inventions were spread about those fighting for freedom. False stories were spread about the violation of women in San Lajaro, about children whose eyes were put out, false stories that flesh of dead clergymen was sold by the pound; fairy tales were disseminated about soldiers of the Storm Guard being burned alive. All of these inventions so varied and so malicious had one and the same aim in view, namely, to arouse in all classes in Spain hatred toward the uprising in Asturias, toward the uprising which, in spite of certain excesses—which can be quite understood during a revolutionary movement of such huge proportions—was of an exceedingly magnanimous character—for during the time of the uprising in Asturias the lives of the most malicious enemies of the people were spared. But these people later were not honorable enough to recall the generosity previously shown to them. [*Stormy applause.*]

I shall now touch on the four basic points which made up the lying stories which, as I have stated already, had one and the same aim in view. First of all I shall touch upon the false accusations as to the violation of women. You are well aware that this was a lie because the girls who, according to your words, were murdered and before their death were violated by the revolutionists, themselves cast your foul fairy tale back into your faces with the words, "We are alive and received nothing but care from the revolutionaries." But this lie of yours had its purpose. The fairy tales about the violation of women spread by your press (while the Left press was doomed to silence) were to rouse the Spanish people, in whom the spirit of chivalry is so inherent, against the alleged barbarism of the revolutionaries.

But even this did not satisfy you. You tried to rouse hatred among

* Luis de Sirval—republican journalist, member of the Azana Party, was murdered in October, 1934, while gathering information regarding the persecution of revolutionary workers. The murder was committed by an officer of the Foreign Legion (Colonial troops in Morocco).

the women against the revolution. You attempted to play upon the motherly feeling of love for their children, and to this end you speculated on the fables invented by you about the children whose eyes were put out. I must say here that our revolutionaries followed the example of the heroes of the Paris Commune and, with a view to saving the lives of the children, waited until the children and their mothers vacated the barracks of the Civil Guard before settling accounts with the men, as befits the brave. They did so with unequal arms, but were inspired by ideals, something of which you were never capable. [*Applause.*]

Now as for the stories about the sale of the flesh of dead priests. You know very well, and we also recognize that religious feelings are still alive among broad sections of the Spanish people, that you wanted by this dastardly lie to dampen any feeling of sympathy, any feeling of mercy which could arise in the hearts of the religious people toward the revolutionaries.

But the culminating point of your slander was that about soldiers of the Storm Guard being burned alive—what you needed was that the armed forces sent by you into Asturias should smash up the revolutionary movement, and that their hearts should be filled with a thirst for revenge. This is why the lie was spread among the rank and file of the Storm Guard that their comrades were burned alive by the revolutionaries. All of your lying inventions, as I have already stated, were directed toward one aim—turning the Spanish workers away from the movement of rebellion in Asturias.

But everything has an end, M. Gil Robles. When Spain began to learn the truth, then the consequences were soon felt. On February 16* the people unanimously registered their hatred toward those who imagined that by means of terror and bloody repressions they had suppressed the ardent aspiration of the people for justice which lay dormant among them.

Those who were defeated in February, but who still consider themselves masters of Spain, have not reconciled themselves to defeat, and have attempted by all means at their disposal to postpone and paralyze these results. This explains your desperation, because you know that the People's Front will not be smashed, but will realize the aims which it has set itself. It is for this reason that you still refuse to carry out the instructions and orders of the government, and that you systematically set yourselves against the satisfaction of the demands of the toilers, thereby arousing disorder. For Mr. Calvo Sotello, who became accustomed to see the lion's share under the dictatorship,** cannot imagine that the Spanish workers act otherwise than they did at that time. What leads to strikes? Can it be idleness? Or the desire to make disorder?

No! The situation leads to strikes because the workers can no longer exist in this way. It is quite understandable and natural that people who were subjected to torture and repression when the Rights were in power now want to achieve that which you refused to give them and to achieve which you always blocked their path. The government has no

* The day of Parliamentary elections in which the People's Front won out.
** Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, 1923-1929.

need to fear strikes. Such measures, directed toward the defense of the workers' interests, do not by any means bear the character of a revolt against the government. These strikes only express the desire of the workers to improve their conditions and to make their way out of the privation in which they live.

Some of the speakers here dealt with the situation in the village. I also want to touch upon this, because it is closely connected with the conditions of the urban workers. In passing I shall again expose the connections which exist between the owners of the large estates on the one hand, who systematically refuse to give work to the peasants but who prefer that the harvest be destroyed, and on the other hand the manufacturers, the bosses of the building industry and other spheres of production who enter into conflict with their workers and resist the satisfaction of the demands of the workers. All of this is connected with what I said before about the double-dealing of the people who come here to ask what is really taking place in the country, while they themselves sow dissension and unrest in town and country.

I will cite a concrete example from the sphere of events in the province of Toledo which is a reflection of what is taking place in other agrarian provinces in Spain. In Quintanar de la Orden many big landowners held up the pay of their workers during the entire agricultural season. (In all probability this is not unknown to M. Madariaga, because his attention was always engrossed in the defense of the interests of the big landowners.) It will be interesting to see what M. Madariaga will say when the workers of Quintanar de la Orden, like the workers of Almendralejo and many other Spanish villages, will decide at some definite moment to take that which belongs to them by right? Oh, of course! M. Madariaga will come here and will speak about disorders. He will say that the government has no authority. He will come here and try, as so many others so stubbornly do here, constantly to disrupt the work of the government and Parliament.

Both the big landowners and the industrialists are consciously determined to provoke disorders—as will be proved to you by the concrete fact which I shall speak of now. In Villa de Don Fadrique, one of the villages of the province of Toledo, the instructions of the agrarian reform were put into effect. But one of the landlords, who is insulted by what the peasants consider to be justice (the peasants, it should be remembered, have hitherto known of no other justice save the power of the landlords), came to an agreement with other landlords and organized a virtual act of provocation—and a very clever one at that, gentlemen of the Right!

I shall now describe it to you here, and will prove at the same time the entire falsity of the arguments brought by Calvo Sotello, who asserts that the large landowners are not in a position to pay more than 1½ pesetas a day. [*Agitation in the hall. One of the Deputies asks, "Who said that?"*]

These landlords, whose property is located in Villa de Don Fadrique (province of Toledo) and whose harvest is estimated at ten thousand douros* proposed to distribute the harvest among the peasants of the

* One douro equals 5 pesetas.

neighboring villages of Lillo, Cōrral de Almaguer and Villacanas. In principle this appears to be an altruistic act. But at bottom this is a dastardly provocation. The big landowners want to incite the working people of one village who are tortured by hunger against those of other villages. To prove that my words contain neither inventions nor sophistry, I will read you the statement made by the brother of one of the landlords of this locality in the presence of Mariano Gimeno, the mayor of the community, before the commission of the association of landowners. This is what he said: "Had my brother been successful in accomplishing that which was decided on, that is, in distributing the harvest, then this would have at the present time given rise to conflicts and would thus have put an end to everything."

Here, M. Gil Robles, are the people—and not the workers and peasants—who are responsible for the unrest. Decisive measures must be taken against those who are responsible for the disorder and disorganization in the economic life of Spain, against those who are resorting to such "innocent" measures as the withdrawal of Spanish capital abroad, against those who disseminate dastardly lies about the situation in Spain in order to undermine it, against those employers who refuse to carry out the decisions of the arbitration courts and their instructions, against those who constantly and systematically refuse to give the workers that which belongs to them by right, against those who prefer to allow the harvest to rot rather than to pay wages to the agricultural workers.

Decisive measures must be taken against those who made it possible for events to take place similar to those in Yesta* and in many other Spanish villages, against those who at last must feel the firm hand of the government directed against them and not against the starving workers and peasants who are hungering for bread and justice.

M. Casares Quiroga and Ministers: It will not be by the attacks of the reactionaries nor by the more or less masked maneuvers of the enemies of democracy that it will be possible to break down that confidence which the workers feel in the People's Front and the government which represents it. [*Cries of approval.*] But as has already been stated by Comrade de Francisco, the government must not forget the need for making those elements who do not want to reckon with the law—and in the present concrete case neither the workers nor the peasants belong to this category—feel the power of the law.

If there are reactionary generals in Spain who at a definite moment could be incited by such individuals as M. Calvo Sotello to rebel against the state authority, we also have the soldiers from among the people, we have heroic sergeants, such as the sergeant from Alkala, who know how to put these generals in their place! [*Cries of approval.*] And when

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* The events alluded to took place on May 28, 1936, in the village of Yesta (province of Toledo). Several of the starving poor entered the "La Umbria" estate which belongs to the squires of this village, the brothers Alfargo, in order to chop down a few trees. The Storm Guard detained six peasants and beat them up brutally. On the following day the mayor of the village with several municipal councilors and trade union leaders, accompanied by the inhabitants of the village, went to the Storm Guard building in order to ask that the arrested men should be freed. On the way there they were met by the guard which opened fire at them. Twenty-two peasants were killed and 50 wounded.

the government adopts the decision to speed up the fulfilment of the program of the People's Front, and, as was stated several days ago by M. Albornoz,* when the Republican offensive begins, then the government will find on its side all the workers, filled with determination as on February 16, to smash the forces of reaction, and once more to lead the People's Front to victory.

What are the conclusions which I draw? In order to avoid the disorder, to overcome the condition of uneasiness which prevails in Spain, it is not sufficient to place the responsibility for the coming events only upon some individual person as, for example, on M. Calvo Sotello. A beginning should be made by placing the employers in jail who refuse to carry out the orders of the government, by imprisoning the big landowners who are starving the peasants to death, by throwing into jail the people whose hands are still red with the blood of the victims of the October repressions, and who come here with unexampled cynicism and want to make the government responsible for events which have not taken place. When these deeds of justice begin to be operated, then, M. Casares Quiroga and Ministers, not a single government will have such firm and strong support at its disposal as your government, because the masses of the people in Spain will rise as courageously as they rose on February 16 in order to undertake a still more decisive struggle against the elements whose presence here is absolutely intolerable. [*Ovation by the Deputies of the People's Front.*]

". . . Real revolutions, however harsh they may be, do not need justification, because they lift the people who bring them about and the whole of mankind as a consequence to a higher stage of human civilization. But the reason why the bloody orgy of the fascists cannot be justified is that it reduces the great German people to the level of barbarism." (*Georgi Dimitroff, "Reply to Herr Ribbentrop," Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1936.*)

* Alvoro de Albornoz: independent Republican. After the establishment of the republican administration in 1931 occupied the position of chairman of the Guarantee tribunal, the function of which consisted in checking up the fulfilment of the constitution by the government. The tribunal participated in the preparation and drawing up of the laws, and had a right to annul them if they did not correspond to the constitution. With the coming to power of the government of Leroux-Gil Robles (1934-36), Albornoz resigned.

The Draft of the Soviet Constitution and the Fascist Constitution of Poland

By J. DOLYA

LAST year, at the initiative of the great leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin, the historic question of changing the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was raised at the Seventh All-Union Congress of Soviets. The draft of the new Stalinist Constitution has now been published for discussion. This historic act is the direct result of the achievements obtained during the eighteen years of rule by the proletariat, namely, of the transformation of the country into a socialist country, into a country of big industry, of high technique, of the almost complete transformation of the countryside, the complete abolition of exploiting classes, and the provision of free labor for all and access to science and culture.

In the same year, in 1935, when Comrade Stalin raised the question of changing the Constitution of the Soviet Republics, the Polish bourgeoisie "presented" the Polish people with a new fascist constitution and a new electoral law.

This constitution was the legal and final repeal of the old constitution of 1921, which had been based on the bourgeois-democratic traditions of the past but had never been carried into practice, and which has now in fascist conditions become utterly "obsolete". The electoral law abolished universal, direct, secret suffrage and proportional representation which, truth to tell, had long since been replaced by electoral swindling and violence. This act of fascist violence was most directly connected with economic "achievements" of seventeen years of bourgeois rule and nine years of fascist rule.

Industrial production is down to 65 percent of the pre-war level, there are half a million registered unemployed, millions of surplus "hands" in the villages, hundreds of thousands of the rising generation with no prospects whatever in life, and there is a deep gulf between the conditions of the handful of exploiters and the sufferings of the starving masses of the people, while class contradictions and the class struggle have reached unparalleled intensity.

Sixteen years ago, in circumstances of revolutionary outbreaks, Polish independence was restored and the Polish state arose, thanks to the great socialist revolution in Russia. The people of Poland were not strong enough to overthrow the exploiters and establish their own rule. With the help of the Social-Democratic and Peasant Parties, with the help of armed force directed by Pilsudski, formerly a Socialist and later a fascist dictator, state power was taken by the capitalists and landlords, who also retained all the wealth—the land, the factories, and mills. The Peasant Parties, which were under the leadership of the

kulaks, did not go further than to demand a capitalistic agrarian reform, which provided for the peasants being able to buy part of the landlord's land. On the basis of this demand, the Constituent Assembly, on June 10, 1919, adopted an agrarian reform which made the "strong and healthy farms, capable of intensive production", *i.e.*, the kulak and landlord farms, into the basis of Polish agriculture, and declared that not less than 200,000 acres of landlords' land should be divided up every year on a purchase basis. But even this kulak reform only received a majority of one vote, and met with the resistance and sabotage of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and their governments.

Frightened by the mass movement, the bourgeoisie had to make certain sometimes important concessions to the proletariat. The first so-called people's government of Moraczewski—under the pressure of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies formed in Poland—passed an 8-hour-day decree, established a system of sick-benefit clubs, passed a law on elections to the Constituent Assembly on the basis of direct, secret, universal suffrage, with proportional representation, and in January, 1919, convened the Constituent Assembly.

On March 17, 1921, the Constituent Assembly adopted the constitution of the Polish republic. It was still a tribute to democratic traditions and former promises. The constitution proclaimed that the "supreme power belongs to the people", that "the home of a citizen is inviolable", that "every citizen has the right to government protection of his labor, and to public support in case there is no work, or of illness or disablement", that "the freedom of the press is guaranteed and no censorship can be introduced", that "citizens have the right of coalition", that "study in state and municipal schools is free", etc., etc.

Thus the Polish state was based on the principles of bourgeois democracy, and the working people succeeded in winning political and social rights. It goes without saying that a number of the principal rights and liberties announced in the constitution were simply a swindle as far as the working people were concerned, because, as in any bourgeois country, the constitution was subordinated to the interests of capitalist private property and exploitation.

Power was in the hands of the capitalists and landlords, who possessed the material resources, the apparatus of the state and a powerful press, and who made use of the nationalistic sentiments of fairly wide sections of the people. All this provided them with a majority of votes in the elections to the Constituent Assembly and the Sejms which followed it. There could be no question of any kind of "government by the people". The governments were changed and appointed not at the will of the people and not even at the will of the Sejm, but at the will of the ruling bourgeois-landlord clique and the military groups which served it. Thus it was that the first so-called "workers' and peasants'" government of Daschinski and the "popular" government of Moraczewski disappeared from the scene. After holding back the first onslaught of the revolutionary masses with sops and promises, they gave place to openly reactionary bourgeois-kulak governments.

Polish bourgeois democracy did not give rights and liberties to the

people even to the extent obtained by the people of France or of Weimar pre-fascist Germany. Polish bourgeois democracy, born of war and revolution, was not fated to develop. All its democratic decrees were from the very outset "filled" on the bayonet, which was always the "determining factor" in Poland. One of the first acts of precisely the democratic groups was to give Pilsudski the title of "head of the state". By this act he was virtually presented with the scepter of a military dictator, which he used for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and maintained to his very death, passing it as a heritage to another representative of the military fascist clique.

The first Polish democratic constitution legalized the violence committed against millions of nationally oppressed peoples, first and foremost West Ukraine and West White Russia. Apart from general phraseology about equality of rights, irrespective of nationality, the constitution did not even mention the existence of the nations which constitute over 40 per cent of the population of Poland, though many points in the laws defending the integrity of the Polish state were directed against them.

From the very outset Polish bourgeois democracy drove the really revolutionary workers' and peasants' organizations and above all the Communist Party underground, and put them outside the law. Bourgeois democracy smashed up the Workers' Soviets everywhere. A series of decrees restricted the law regarding the eight-hour day and the defense of labor. And later when the crisis came this was was not observed at all. The agrarian reform was used entirely to strengthen the positions of the landlords and kulaks. At first, the landowners were afraid that this reform, adopted under the pressure of the peasants, might strike at their pockets, and began spontaneously to divide up the land, *i.e.*, to sell surplus and unwanted land to the kulaks in good time. But after they had satisfied the demands of the kulaks to a certain extent, and gained heart as the result of the war of 1920 and the ebbing of the revolutionary wave, the landlords simply came to an arrangement with the kulak leaders of the Peasant Party "Piast" as to the restriction of the division of land, the sale of surplus land to the kulaks and the prosperous middle peasants and as to the alteration in practice of the points in the agrarian reform which did not suit them.

Thus the masses of the working peasants were completely tricked and swindled. More than half of the land remained in the hands of 5,700 large and small landlords. Later, the fascist agrarian policy and the agrarian crisis which broke out led to still greater impoverishment and sharpening of the contradictions in the villages, creating the prerequisites for development of a wide peasant revolutionary movement.

The economic devastation, which lasted for years and with which the Polish bourgeoisie was unable to cope, created permanent unemployment and a tremendous surplus of workers, and led to the constant lowering of standards of living of the workers and peasants.

Thus, even within the limits of bourgeois democracy, the working people in Poland were gradually deprived of the rights which they had won in bitter struggle during the years of revolutionary upsurge. Nevertheless, the democratic forms which remained and the rights and liberties which even though limited were preserved, created wider possibilities for the toilers to organize their struggle and to resist the offensive of the

landlords and capitalists. It was precisely for this reason that the Polish bourgeoisie soon proceeded to abolish democratic forms and to establish a regime of open fascist violence.

* * *

The proletariat of the former tsarist Russia, who based themselves upon the broad masses of the poor peasants, overthrew and destroyed the power of the capitalists and landlords in 1917. They established their Soviet form of dictatorship, a particular form of alliance between the proletariat and the working peasants. This proletarian dictatorship, which was a source of menace for the exploiters, landlords and capitalists and therefore slandered by them, meant genuine democracy for the working people.

The basic factor which ensured real democracy and real freedom for the toilers was that the exploiters were deprived of the material foundations of their rule, that the material foundations of inequality and exploitation of man by man were removed. The land was taken from the landlords without compensation, and declared to be the property of the whole people, the property of the state. The banks were taken away from the capitalists. Workers' control was set up over the industrialists, their factories and mills, and soon the factories and mills passed entirely into the hands of the state. All articles of cultural value and the mighty weapons of the press, paper and printing machines, passed into the hands of the working people.

The proletariat naturally deprived the exploiters and open enemies of the people of all rights. The workers did not conceal the nature of their authority—the dictatorship of the proletariat—untroubled by the slander which continues up to the present day from the bourgeoisie and their petty-bourgeois lickspittles, because this dictatorship, directed against an insignificant handful of exploiters, means that many millions of people are being drawn as never before into the life of the state.

The Leninist-Stalinist Constitution adopted in 1918 not only gave real freedom to the peoples formerly oppressed by the tsarist regime but also created firm foundations for their free development, and indicated the path for their economic and cultural development.

It was only on the basis of such a constitution that the working people of the Soviet Union could, in fierce class struggle, defeat their enemies and set to work to restore the national economy that had been devastated by war and intervention. They fought with tremendous intensity and at the cost of enormous sacrifice against starvation and ruin, building up a new life with no crises, unemployment or exploitation. It was only on the basis of this Constitution that it was possible to crush the resistence of the exploiters, to re-educate the peasants in general and win them over to the path of collective farming, the path of socialism. Only on the basis of such a Constitution, carried out under the leadership of the iron Bolshevik Party led by its great leader Stalin, was it possible to achieve the world historic victories of socialism.

* * *

The exceptional sharpness of the internal contradictions in Poland, the uninterrupted development of the intense class struggle, the discord

among the ruling groups, brought about a rapid transition of the Polish bourgeoisie to fascist methods of rule. Reckoning with the feelings of the masses, and trying to divert them from the proper path, fascism still made wide use of democratic forms. While continually cutting down the rights and gains of the people, it only gradually legalized the existing withdrawal of rights by emergency decrees and alteration of legislation.

In 1926, at the behest of the capitalists and landlords, Pilsudski placed himself above the Constitution. He did not officially abolish it, but ridiculed it day after day. At first he did not dissolve the Sejm, nor did he repeal the electoral law, but the Sejm was declared to be a gathering of windbags. In case of need, the swashbuckling and attentive general Slawoi-Skladkowski could come into the Sejm with a detachment of police or a gang of officers and call the deputies to order. In the new elections to the Sejm held in 1930, a strong fascist majority was ensured by the police and administrative apparatus and by swindling.

Step by step a fierce drive was made on the economic and political gains of the working people. Step by step, the articles of the Constitution were replaced by emergency decrees. The Constitution provided for the freedom of press, and prohibited the censorship, but fascism muzzled the press with its "press decree". The Constitution provided for freedom of organization, but fascism came along with its "decree on organizations". The Constitution provided for the protection of labor and social insurance, but fascism passed a law about the unification of social insurance, the working day and holidays, which liquidated three-quarters of the social insurance and the former social gains. The Constitution provided for inviolability and liberty; fascism introduced special military courts, a new criminal code and a new prison regime. The Constitution provided for democratic municipal government; fascism introduced new laws regarding the local government authorities, making them into an appendage of the military governors and mayors, and turned the local elections into a farce. The Constitution provided for free education in state and municipal schools, but the number of schools fell disastrously year by year owing to the budget deficit and the "surplus of literate people". Not one but several decrees were issued which repeal or replace practically every article of the Constitution.

Almost every decree met with the desperate resistance of the working people of Poland, who defended their rights and conquests. The fascist clique had to retreat on more than one occasion or to postpone the operation of the various decrees. For example, the decree on social insurance was postponed for two years, and when it was put into practice it called forth a wave of strikes.

The line taken by the fascist groups of Pilsudski to secure a complete monopoly of power and to liquidate parliamentarism, a line which became particularly keen at the beginning of the world economic crisis, encountered the resistance of the Peasant and Socialist Parties and also that of the competing bourgeois oppositional parties—the National Democrats and the Christian Democrats. The bloc of the Centrist and Left oppositional parties tried to protest against Pilsudski's line within the bounds of legality. Pilsudski fiercely and unceremoniously dealt with his former allies. A number of leading figures in the oppositional parties

were sent to the prison of ill-repute in Brest. There, in circumstances recalling the German concentration camps, the prisoners were subjected to systematic humiliation and violence.

The orgy of fascist terror in Germany facilitated the increase in the pace with which fascism developed in Poland. Pilsudski's illness and death, and the consequent loss by the fascist dictatorship of the authority which it possessed among certain nationalist strata owing to Pilsudski's personal prestige, drove the fascist clique to the rapid completion and legalization of the present system. In the spring of 1935, on the eve of Pilsudski's death, the Sejm illegally adopted a new Constitution by a simple majority, while later, after the death of Pilsudski, it adopted a new electoral law.

"The supreme power belongs to the people." The new Constitution fears to use even this phrase. The president stands at the head of the state. He is the same as a monarch. "He is endowed with undivided state power", "he is responsible only to God and history". In effect, the Sejm has been reduced to the role of consultative body. Most of the paragraphs in the old Constitution which gave some guarantees in the social and cultural spheres have been unblushingly abolished. The right to social insurance or free education no longer exists. Civil rights are made so dependent on the "interests of the state", *i.e.*, the interests of a handful of exploiters, that the question of using them is determined in the long run by the police officials. The Constitution unambiguously points to the development of a fascist corporative system, a system of various chambers which take the place of public organizations, and which work under the guidance of the government, and form the basis of the regime.

The Constitution and its development have been crowned by the electoral law. This still more plainly and cynically deprives the people of all participation in the affairs of the state and forces them to prepare a noose for themselves. The right to put forward candidates is given only to electoral collegiums in which a majority is guaranteed in advance to the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the landlords and fascist agents. These collegiums are formed of representatives of the fascist-molded municipalities, commercial and industrial chambers, landlords' and kulaks' organizations, and only for the sake of appearances is a small place left in them for representatives of the workers' organizations. In the final analysis the question of candidates is decided by a commissar appointed from above, and the people are granted the right to vote for two out of four candidates appointed in each constituency. The right to vote is given only to those above 24 years of age.

The elections to the Senate are based on the fascist principle of the "elite". The right to elect Senators is given only to a few hundred thousand representatives of the ruling class, covering people decorated by the government, those with a university education, people with scientific degrees, leaders of certain public organizations, chambers and federations, officers, etc.

It is well known that the people of Poland replied to the fascist electoral law by boycotting the elections. In conditions where terror, violence and trickery held sway, only about 30 per cent of the electors voted for the

fascists. Nevertheless, the elections were declared to be valid and, without long discussion, the "elected" Sejm was granted the right to give legal form to all the violence perpetrated by the fascist clique.

At present a handful of landlords and capitalists, through the agency of the Pilsudski cliques, is carrying on all the affairs of state against the will of the masses of the people. These people are aiming at the introduction of a dictatorship of the Hitler type. They are doing this so that they can carry on without hindrance a policy of national treachery—the policy of Bek, who is selling Poland to Hitler. They are doing this so as to stifle the voice of the suffering people of Poland. But this voice is making itself heard in spite of all obstacles. It says that the life of the Polish peasant and the Polish worker has never been so bad or so unbearable as it is at the present day. This is literally what is said by the peasants and the unemployed in their replies to the semi-official questionnaire of the "Institute of Social Economy".

* * *

"Life has improved, comrades. Life is happier", these celebrated words of Comrade Stalin have been endorsed by collective farmers, tractorists, miners, textile workers, railwaymen, office workers and by all the toilers at innumerable congresses and conferences of the foremost people of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Constitutions of 1918 and 1924 were not mere declarations. Their basic principle and the main task which they set themselves, to put an end to all exploitation of man by man, and to establish a classless society, have been brilliantly carried out by the people of the U.S.S.R. under the guadance of their wise leader Comrade Stalin. Large-scale socialist industry has been formed, and a high and advanced technique established. The villages, provided with tractors and combines, have turned to the socialist road. The vast majority of the peasants have realized the superiority of socialist labor and have become collective farmers. The capitalist elements have been squeezed out and abolished. The workers, collective farmers and office employees became working members of a socialist society with full rights. Class distinctions are being obliterated. It is becoming possible to ensure a prosperous and cultured life for all.

It is precisely for this reason that the new Constitution has become possible, ensuring a further extension of proletarian democracy, and being the expression of the tremendous victorious achieved and the changes in the social structure of the Soviet Republics which have taken place on their basis.

The Stalinist Soviet Constitution is not the constitution of a ruling nation. Eleven free and equal Union Republics, united in the Soviet Union, are setting up their own Constitutions, the fundamental law of their state life. "Each Union Republic reserves the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." says Article 17 of the draft Constitution.

The wide system of Soviets of Toilers' Deputies in the villages, hamlets, towns, districts and regions, etc., provides the toilers with the greatest possibilities of really operating their power from top to bottom, of deciding all the questions of their life themselves. The system of

universal, direct, equal and secret voting is introduced everywhere. For that matter, even formerly no such *general* electoral rights existed in any country as in the Soviet Union. The voting age of 18 years, the right of army men to vote, the complete equality of women, the absence of all restrictions on electoral rights except as far as small groups of former exploiters and priests were concerned, made them genuinely general. Even these restrictions have now disappeared, since the relics of the hostile classes are disappearing.

The elections to the Council of the Union, which together with the Council of Nationalities forms the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., the highest organ of state power in the Soviet Union, are also direct, universal, equal and secret.

It is also on this basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage that the toilers will elect their local courts (people's courts). These will be judges who defend the interests of the people, and not the interests of private property, as is the function of bourgeois courts.

Not only the bourgeois press, which has greeted the draft of the new Soviet Constitution with rage, but part of the Socialist press is trying to pursuade their readers that there can be no question of democratic elections in the U.S.S.R. since the Constitution does not provide for the existence and participation in the elections of political parties other than the Communist Party. The only article on the new Soviet Constitution that has at the time of writing appeared in the *Rabotnik*, the Polish Socialist Party newspaper, an article by Chapinski, by its sarcasm, which plainly adapts itself to the tone of the bourgeois press, makes this the central and decisive question. "The dictatorship of one party fully remains," exclaims Chapinski indignantly.

This is the old song, a song that has cost the toilers much blood and suffering. The bitter experience of Germany and Austria has plainly shown many workers, including the Socialist workers, that it is impossible to arrive at socialism by means of a peaceful competition among parties on the parliamentary arena, that the bourgeoisie will not surrender its power without a bitter struggle, that it will use all its powerful resources in this struggle—arms, money, wealth, centuries of experience and age-long traditions—and that these resources will have to be wrested out of its hands, that the bourgeoisie will have to be disarmed and forced to submit. And this requires that the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie be overthrown by the proletarian dictatorship.

The Party is part of the class, expressing its interests. It is the vanguard of the class, its most active and militant section. To destroy the rule of the exploiting classes means first and foremost to destroy and liquidate their vanguard. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, which first entered the struggle for the highest ideals of mankind, for the establishment of classless society, met with fierce resistance from the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. Only a madman or a traitor could demand that the deadly enemies of the people should be permitted to organize freely and openly prepare for a struggle.

The Party of the proletariat, the only party which carries all the toilers along the path of liberation, succeeded even before the revolution in convincing the main sections of the toilers and drawing them away

from the intermediate and conciliatory parties which were restraining the masses, hindering their struggle, urging the preservation of the capitalist system, and helping the bourgeoisie. After the revolution, these parties turned into insignificant groups without a mass basis, burning with wild hatred for the victorious proletariat, and trying by all possible means to prevent the construction of the new life. There could be no mercy, no place in the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for these enemies of the working people who are trying to turn history backwards, to subject the toilers once more to exploitation and oppression.

The party is the expression of the interests of the class and is the vanguard of the class. The Soviet Union has now arrived at the historic stage when a single society of toilers is being created. This does not mean that the struggle is over. Various fragments of the liquidated exploiting classes will, of course, try to do harm by all means and methods, seeking in this connection the support of world capitalism. The toilers must continue to show the greatest vigilance and fight mercilessly against these enemies. But the people of the Soviet Union, united by socialist labor, have common interests, one common will, and therefore only one party is thinkable, as the foremost detachment of the toilers.

We ask Chapinski what he wants. Is it to see a fascist party in the Soviet Union, a party of bankers, landlords and manufacturers, entering the elections with proposals to return their former property to them? Or it is the National Democrats that so delight his heart, howling for Jewish pogroms?

He will probably say that he is interested most of all in the existence of the Socialist Party. But what can the Socialists say nowadays in the Soviet Union and for whose interests would they stand? We assume, they say, that socialism in a backward country is impossible, that the victory of socialism in a single country is out of the question, that we must wait for a peaceful growth into socialism, that the peasants will not take the socialist path, that the restoration of capitalist power is inevitable. But socialism is already victorious in the U.S.S.R., is victorious finally and irrevocably. A vast socialist industry has been built up, the great majority of the peasants are moving towards a prosperous life along the socialist path. No, such statements by Socialists as those quoted will arouse nothing but laughter here. Here in the Soviet Union they talked a different language. The toilers of the Soviet Union remember the language of the Mensheviks at the time of intervention, know it from the many trials of wreckers, spies and terrorists. These people do not represent any stratum in the new Soviet society.

This is why there is no place for political parties in Soviet life. This is why the people in the Soviet Union can freely and openly express their interests and fight for the better arrangement of their lives with one party, their foremost detachment, and find the most varied possibilities for their political and cultural development and express their will in the most varied forms of social life and organization.

The draft Constitution gives rights to the Soviet citizens such as the working people in the capitalist countries can only dream of. And each of these rights is guaranteed by corresponding achievements and victories secured on the front of socialist labor.

> "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work—the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality," says the draft Constitution.
>
> "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to rest and leisure."
>
> "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or loss of capacity to work."
>
> "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education."

And every toiler is well aware that these points in the Constitution are not empty declarations, that these rights are guaranteed by life itself. This is explained in the simplest and plainest words in the Constitution itself:

> "The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the absence of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment."

Is it thinkable, under the capitalist system, for the state to undertake such pledges towards its citizens, shaken as it is by crisis and with its armies of millions of unemployed?

It is not without good cause that the bourgeois press ignores this point in the Constitution. Does this not show in the clearest and most convincing way the whole superiority of the socialist system and its tremendous victories? It is evidently not by chance that the Socialist Chapinski in the above-mentioned article very shamefacedly merely touches lightly on this point and on other points in the draft Constitution which provide for socialist rights and achievements. Not a single Polish worker will understand what it is all about from the vague way he deals with it.

The Polish bourgeoisie are not in a position to guarantee the unemployed work even on public works or in labor camps which is almost unpaid for and recompensed by a bowl of watery soup, because funds which the Polish bourgeoisie do not possess are also needed to organize this slave labor. In Poland there are millions of surplus workers, while at the best times about a hundred thousand workers are occupied on public works. In the U.S.S.R., the Stalinist Constitution guarantees and can guarantee proper and fully paid work, because the growing socialist economy needs ever more fresh people without end.

> "The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, the institution of annual vacations with pay for workers and other employees, and the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest homes and clubs serving the needs of the toilers."

Workers in capitalist countries are mostly aware of only one kind of "rest" and "vacation", namely, unemployment.

In Poland, according to the latest fascist decrees, even those pitifully few rest days which, in any case, have long been ignored by the employers, are now reduced to nothing by law. Dare the workers in capitalist countries dream of holidays when at any moment their places may be taken by someone from the millions of unemployed?

Everyone knows that the Soviet state has tremendously extended the system of social insurance from year to year, granting millions of

rubles on an ever-growing scale for this purpose. At the same time the whole capitalist world has taken the path of liquidating even the pitiful crumbs of social insurance.

Hundreds and thousands of schools have rapidly been built in the Soviet Union in the last few years. The material conditions of the teachers have considerably improved. The school has been given a central place in the attention of the Bolshevik Party, and is surrounded with Stalin's care. The Constitution can therefore justly declare that the right to education, including higher education, is guaranteed.

The Constitution guarantees to citizens of the Soviet Union freedom of speech, press, assembly and of holding mass meetings and street demonstrations. These rights are not infrequently set forth in bourgeois constitutions, but in capitalist countries they are only empty phrases, since all the material resources, printing plants, paper, buildings, etc., are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. In those countries, these rights are simply deception of the toilers, since they are subordinated to and limited by the interests of the bourgeoisie, since they are subordinated to the main purpose of any bourgeois constitution, namely, the preservation and consolidation of the domination of a handful of exploiters, the consolidation of the bourgeois state. In the Soviet Union, these rights and liberties serve the purpose of strengthening the socialist system. They are subordinated to the interests of the toilers and are carried out by the toilers themselves for their own good.

The toilers of the Soviet Union have really all rights and liberties because they are the only masters of the country. The recognition of this has grown strong in the minds of the Soviet people, and together with it has grown up a recognition of duty, a feeling of loyalty to their great socialist fatherland.

In reply to the new Constitution, there will be a new wave of enthusiasm among the toilers in the Soviet Union, an enthusiasm for labor, for the construction of a new life. The Stalinist Constitution will serve as a weapon for the complete destruction of all the relics of capitalism, the destruction of every distinction among the strata of socialist society, and for the further victorious advance to communism.

The reply to the fascist Constitution and fascist violence in Poland was and will be an increase in the detestation of the masses of the people for the exploiters and the fascists and, among the masses, the strengthening of the idea of the people's anti-fascist front for the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship.

The brilliant victories and achievements of the toilers in the Soviet Union, of which the Stalinist Constitution is the expression, will be a mighty stimulus for the development of the struggle of the toilers throughout the whole world. The Soviet Constitution will become their live practical program, their victorious fighting banner.

> ". . . Though upholders of Soviet democracy, we shall defend *every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains.*" (*Report of Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.*)

The Draft of the Soviet Constitution and the Constitution of the U.S.A.

By HARRY OWEN

A FEW of the early revolutionaries such as Tom Paine and Jefferson, at the moment when they were raised to the most inspired heights by their own revolutionary role, particularly in the course of the revolutionary actions of 1776, glimpsed in noble perspective the ultimate objects of the course of human development. Thus when, in the writing of the Declaration of Independence, the new propertied interests tried to formulate the Declaration of Independence as "the inalienable rights of life, liberty and property",* Jefferson was able to rally enough support to eliminate the "property" and substitute "the pursuit of happiness".**

Similarly, he succeeded in writing into the Declaration of Independence, as an inalienable right of the people: that when "a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing inevitably the same object, evinces a design [by the rulers] to reduce them [the people] under absolute despotism, it is their [the people's] right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and provide new guards for their future society".

The Declaration of Independence, for all practical purposes, is a dead letter. It has no force of law, and its moral influence upon the government is so little that American citizens have been arested for reading the Declaration of Independence in violation of police regulations.

When the Constitution was first submitted for ratification, following the Constitutional Convention of 1787, the widespread opposition to it caused to be adopted ten amendments which have since become known as the Bill of Rights. It is significant that practically all of these amendments were measures aimed to give some degree of democratic rights to the people of the country. Since then, however, especially since the turn of the twentieth century, through the continual extension of its own power by the Supreme Court, the Bill of Rights has been largely nullified and the Supreme Court has put such interpretations on the Constitution that it is used as a tool in the hands of the most reactionary sections of the American ruling class against the interests of the masses.

This again was not due to accidental circumstance. Alexander Hamilton, who represented the most reactionary propertied groups and whose ideas had a great, in many cases a decisive, part in the writing of the Constitution, declared:

> "There ought to be a principle in government capable of resisting the popular current . . . the erection of a powerful chief magistrate who ought to be hereditary, and to have so

* *Main Currents in American Thought*, by V. L. Parrington, Vol. 1, p. 344.
** *Ibid.*

much power, that it will not be to his interest to risk much to acquire more."

It was thus that the Supreme Court was created and has ever served to "resist the popular current".

Would it not have surprised Jefferson to know that the great vision that he shared with Paine and the other humanitarians of their time of the rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is now being given bone and flesh in a land which at that time must have seemed remote indeed to them—the present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics?

In the U.S.S.R., there is still small, insignificant private property in the means of production among the individual peasants and among the handicraftsmen. But exploiting classes, existing in capitalist countries, have been abolished in the U.S.S.R. and constitutional democracy can therefore be for the whole people, not for a small propertied class.

The draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. shows its completely different character from that adopted in 1787 by the Constitutional Convention in the United States: instead of being based upon the right of a small class to accumulate property at the expense of the masses, it declares just the reverse—that this is "a socialist state of workers and peasants"; that "all power belongs to the toilers"; that this Constitution stands for the "abolition of exploitation of man by man." (Articles 1, 3, 4.)

Thus it destroys the law of the "sacredness of private property" in the means of production under which the exploiters grow rich at the expense of the masses, under which heroes are made of the richest robbers and exploiters of industry and agriculture and the masses of useful producers are stripped of all wealth and thrown on the breadline.

The Soviet Constitution now establishes the rights of man upon a plane that history has hitherto never known:

1. The duty of the state to provide to every normally qualified human being work with pay according to the amount and quality of the work performed and to provide for rest. (Articles 118, 119.)

2. The placing of government control closely in the hands of the toilers through such measures as:

a. Direct, universal, and equal elections by secret ballot (Article 134);

b. The right of immediate and easy recall by a simple majority (Article 142);

c. Direct control of all judicial officers by abolishing long and life terms for judges and limiting them to a maximum of five years (Article 105);

d. Making the Attorney General an elected instead of an appointed office (Article 114);

e. Providing that all court cases shall be tried with the participation of people's associate judges, to which posts all citizens are eligible (Articles 103, 136), instead of being restricted only to the legal profession.

3. The Constitution grants equality of rights to Soviet citizens irrespective of their nationality or race and the outlawing of propaganda of racial and national segregation or hatred or contempt, making it punishable by law (Article 123).

Thus, the Soviet masses have acquired a degree of democracy not yet known in any country of the world, including the United States which is considered to be one of the advanced bourgeois democratic countries.

SOME DETAILS IN BOTH CONSTITUTIONS COMPARED

The United States Constitution is based upon a theory of "balance" among the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government, each branch of which is supposed to constitute a check upon the other so that no part of the government becomes so strong as to make possible an abuse of its power against the rights of the people. Through two channels, however, this alleged basis of the United States Constitution has been undermined and nullified.

THE NINE-MAN MONARCHY

First, the Supreme Court has taken unto itself sufficient power to nullify vast amounts of the legislative and natural rights of the people. The anti-slavery forces under Abraham Lincoln were forced to resort to civil war to break the defense of slavery by the Supreme Court, so clearly manifested in the Dred Scott Decision, which nullified a measure to prohibit the spread of slavery from the South to the Northern territories of the United States. Even the skimpy and timid welfare legislation which was granted to the people following the great upheaval against the Hoover administration was declared unconstitutional. Even so simple a defense of the wage-earners as the New York Minimum Wage Law has been declared unconstitutional.

The second channel through which those protective measures contained in the Bill of Rights have been nullified is by the state governments.

Article I of the Bill of Rights guarantees "no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble" shall be passed by Congress. As a matter of fact, Congress itself, and even more so state and county governments, have passed and are enforcing laws abridging all of these rights of the people. The state criminal-syndicalism laws, the anarchy and sedition laws, county vagrancy and anti-picketing ordinances, practical illegalization at various times and in various parts of the country of trade unions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the old Industrial Workers of the World, etc., are examples of this.

Article II guarantees "the right of the people to keep and bear arms". This right has long been forgotten and today is only tolerated by the police and vigilantes, anti-labor hoodlums, Ku Klux Klan elements, Black Legionnaires, corporation thugs, and anti-strike gangsters.

Article IV guarantees "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures". Every year, throughout the country, one can easily gather

evidence of thousands of instances of seizure or search by police of wage-earners' and workers' organizations. Homes have been openly invaded without warrant, persons seized and furniture and books destroyed.

Article VIII guarantees that there shall be no excessive bail nor excessive fines and no cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Who is there, acquainted with the third-degree methods of the police, the enormous bail set in labor cases, and the long sentences for strike leaders, that does not realize that this guarantee of the Constitution has been violated by the present U.S. government?

COMPARISON OF CITIZENS' RIGHTS, WELFARE AND PROTECTION

1. The U. S. Constitution has no provision guaranteeing work, rest and security in old age and sickness.	The U.S.S.R. Constitution provides the citizens of the U.S.S.R. with the right to receive guaranteed work. The right to rest is ensured by the reduction of the working day to seven hours for the overwhelming majority of the workers, annual vacations with pay, etc. Security in old age as well as in sickness is ensured through social insurance, free medical aid, etc. (Articles 118, 119, 120.)
2. In the U.S. there is no guaranteed right of asylum; and, in fact, foreign-born refugees are subject to deportation and have been and are being continually deported to countries from which they were political refugees and in some cases to fascist countries, which is equal to murder.	In the U.S.S.R. the right of asylum is guaranted to all foreign citizens persecuted "for defending the interests of the toilers or for their scientific activity or for their struggle for national liberation" (Article 129.)
3. The U.S. Constitution states that no person except a natural-born citizen shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of 35 years and been 14 years a resident within the United States. A Representative must be 25 years or over and seven years a citizen of the U.S. A Senator must be 30 years of age or older, and nine years a citizen. Both Representative and Senator must be an inhabitant of that state for or in which he is chosen.	The U.S.S.R. draft Constitution makes no such restrictions. All citizens (with the exception of the insane and persons deprived of their electoral rights by the courts) who, in the year of the elections, reach the age of 18 have the right to be elected to any post. (Articles 134, 135, 136.)

4. In the U.S. voting begins at 21 years of age.

In the U.S.S.R. voting begins at 18.

5. The U. S. Constitution has no referendum provision. (As a result, it has been impossible to pass an amendment prohibiting child labor.)

In the U.S.S.R. the Supreme Council, through its Presidium, conducts a referendum on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics. (Article 49 [d])

6. In the U.S., the government is predicated on the conception of three distinct divisions; judicial, executive, legislative. The really supreme body which decides all questions of major principle is the judicial, which is not directly chosen by the people. Except for the President and Vice-President, the executive branch of the government (headed by the President) is also not elected by the people. Both the judicial and executive branches are independent of the legislative division, *i.e.*, Congress.

In the U.S.S.R. the judicial and executive branches of government are subordinate to the directly elected representatives of the people, the Supreme Council, which alone exercises legislative power, while the district courts are elected directly by the people. (Articles 30, 32.)

7. In the U.S. the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is far greater than is commonly known. They not only have the right to declare unconstitutional acts of Congress but they have the right to nullify treaties, declare the appointment of ambassadors null and regulate relations between two or more states.

In the U.S.S.R. the Supreme Court is limited in its functions to supervision of the activity of all judicial organs of the U.S.S.R., and Union Republics. The right to nullify treaties, recall plenipotentiaries, etc., is reserved to the Supreme Council. (Articles 49 [l], [m], 104.)

8. In the U. S. the President is the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy and Congress is thereby limited in its powers over the armed forces. This makes it possible for the President to wage war on countries (as in Nicaragua) without formal declaration of war by Congress.

In the U.S.S.R. the right to declare a state of war—in case of armed aggression against the U.S. S.R.—is vested in the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and in the period between its sessions is in the hands of the Presidium of the Supreme Council, which also appoints and removes the higher command of the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. (Article 49.)

9. In the U.S., the President has power, with the ratification of the Senate (to the exclusion of the House of Representatives) to make international treaties.	In the U.S.S.R. the ratification of international treaties is in the hands of the People's Supreme Council, and, between sessions, of the Presidium of the Supreme Council. (Articles 14, 49.)
10. The U. S. President appoints the Cabinet. The Cabinet is not responsible to the people's representatives, Congress, but only to the President.	In the U.S.S.R. the Supreme Council elects the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (analogous to the Cabinet) and all members of that Council. The Council of People's Commissars is responsible to the Supreme Council and accountable to it. (Articles 49[e], 65, 70.)
11. In the U.S. individual representatives or senators have no power to intercede in the administrative or other forces of the government.	In the U.S.S.R. an individual deputy of the Supreme Council, by putting a question on the floor of either House, obliges the Council of People's Commissars or a People's Commissar (analogous to a Cabinet member in the U.S.) to submit an oral or written answer within three days (Article 71.)
12. In the U.S. every bill (which shall have passed both Houses of Congress), before it becomes a law must be presented to the President for approval, or, being disapproved by him, must be repassed by two-thirds of each House.	In the U.S.S.R. a law is considered approved if adopted by both chambers of the Supreme Council by simple majority in each, and the law is then published over the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Council. In case of disagreement between the two houses the bill is turned over to an arbitration commission, and if no agreement is reached the Presidium dissolves the houses and sets new elections. (Articles 30, 39, 40.)
13. In the U.S. the electoral representatives have no legal obligations to render account of their actions to their constituencies. The voters have no direct power to impeach these representatives, such power being vested solely in the House of Representatives itself.	In the U.S.S.R. every deputy must render account of his work to the electors and may be recalled upon decision of a majority of the electors. (Article 142.)

The Soviet Constitution gives every citizen the right to elect and be elected irrespective of race, nationality, religion, educational qualifica-

tions, residential qualifications, social origin, property status and past activity. (Article 136.)

As against this, through state and federal law, in the U.S. a vast network of rules has been made limiting the franchise. We can here cite only some of the chief examples of such limitations.

The capitalist electoral system in the U.S. is based on territorial divisions.

Within each state, in the Congressional district, and in the county, city and state legislative districts, the huge congested working class districts, which include hundreds of thousands of voters, are given equal representation to a bourgeois area, which includes but a small fraction of that number.

Electoral districts are "gerrymandered", shifted about, so that militant workers' neighborhoods are broken up and attached to various overwhelmingly majority bourgeois neighborhoods, and thus are prevented from uniting their forces to elect a representative.

All efforts at a system of proportional representation have been unsuccessful.

The outstanding "legislative" manner by which the capitalist class insures its control of state power, even in the so-called "democratic" governments, is to deprive outright large sections of workers and poor farmers from voting. For example, the Negro people, especially in the South, are deprived of voting rights, either by various rules which discriminate against them, or by open use of Jim Crow, which prevents them from going to white polling places, the only polling places provided. As a result, especially in the South, only a very small part of the eligible voting population, frequently less than 15 per cent, can vote in the elections. We give below a list of typical states:

	Population over 21 years of age, in 1933	Voted last Presidential Election (1932)
Mississippi	1,023,140	146,129
Alabama	1,332,978	243,967
Georgia	1,484,981	255,590
Virginia	1,277,427	297,943
Tennessee	1,405,465	385,963
Texas	2,805,192	858,307
Louisiana	1,097,632	268,271
Florida	810,069	275,477

These figures give one a conception of how small a part of the population participates in voting. When one considers in addition that the capitalist class needs only a majority of those allowed to vote, one can easily see that 10 per cent or less of the eligible population decides the elections in these states.

The rest of the states use other methods of achieving the same purpose. For example, in California there are 250,000 agricultural workers, among the most militant sections of the working class, yet these are prevented from voting by residence qualifications. They are migratory workers and do not live in one county three months or more as required by law.

In thirty-seven states one must be a resident for one year or more before qualifying to become a voter. In fifteen states one must reside in a certain county six months or more before having the right to vote. In each state one must live in a particular town for six months or more before having the right to vote. In four states, one must live in a particular election precinct six months or more before having the right to vote.

From this it can easily be seen how unemployed workers who must go about seeking work, or evicted workers, migratory workers, seasonal workers of all sorts are eliminated, and only people who are comparatively better off, and more inclined to be satisfied with existing conditions, are given the right to vote, despite the fact that they may be, or frequently are, only a small minority of the population.

The workers who are evicted in the last months prior to an election lose their right to vote, under the residence qualification.

In eight states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia) one must pay a poll tax in order to vote, and if one cannot afford the tax one is not allowed to vote. In three states (Alabama, Oregon, South Carolina) one must own property to be allowed to vote. In one state (Alabama) only employed can vote. Thus, in tax states, one is disqualified by reason of being victim in one way or another way of capitalist pauperization. In two states (Georgia and Mississippi) delinquent taxpayers are disqualified. In thirteen states (Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia) state relief beneficiaries, that is, people whose economic resources are completely exhausted, who have no work nor income, and are thrown on the relief of the state, lose their right to vote. In three states (California, Nevada and Oregon) all Chinese, and other Oriental people can under no circumstances have the right to vote.

PREVENTING CITIZENSHIP

In addition to these qualifications, there is the wholesale disfranchisement of millions of foreign-born workers, many of whom have been in this country for several decades, and have contributed to the riches of the country, in the lowest-paid trades and industries, and still cannot win the right to vote, either because of the strict requirements of one sort or another, or the so-called "cultural" disqualifications. Thus, a judge, suspecting a foreign-born worker of militant working class sympathies, asks him "civic" questions, which no one can remember, such as "who was the fourteenth president of the United States?" or "What is the name of the first assistant in the Attorney-General's office?" or "What is the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution?" Unemployed are refused citizenship as are many applicants who never find their way through all the mass of red tape.

Sometimes when all these methods have failed, and the workers succeed in electing working class representatives to office, capitalism throws away its democratic mask and frankly refuses the workers the right to representation and uses open terror to enforce its rule.

In New York, despite all the maneuvering of the reactionary capitalist machine, dominated especially by the New York City Tammany Hall, the workers succeeded, immediately following the last World War, in electing to the State Assembly ten (then militant) Socialist Assemblymen who had taken an anti-war stand. There was no question concerning the legality of their election. Yet they were refused their seats in the Assembly because they were members of a party whose platform, according to the reactionary legislature, was "inimical to the best interests of the U.S.A. and to the State of New York". And the voters were helpless because the capitalist class had armed forces to carry out its will.

The threat of losing one's job hangs over the head of every worker who dares to support a working class party. The bosses always use the threat of moving their plants should measures or candidates of benefit to the working class carry the elections. Schools, press, radio, pulpit, are all bent to the support of capitalist control of the state.

From all this, we can see that the contrast in the stated rights guaranteed by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Constitutions is only symptomatic of the vast difference of actual rights that exist for the toilers in the two countries.

A careful examination of the two constitutions will show that every detailed item in the U.S.S.R. Constitution serves the purpose of creating a commonwealth of toilers wherein is promoted the interests of the useful workers of hand and brain whereas the U.S. Constitution itself, as well as its practical application, serve the needs of the owners and employers. Thus, under these two constitutions, two completely different systems of society operate. Although it is possible on many separate points to draw comparison between the two constitutions as we have done, yet we must never forget that in their essence these two documents have nothing in common, and that they guide and protect two completely different systems of society.

In the U.S., because the Constitution defends the property system and the rights of the capitalist class under that system, the masses of people will have to struggle more and more actively to maintain the remnants of their democratic rights. This is so because as the difficulties of the capitalist class increase due to the contradictions in the private profit system, experience has shown that they will endeavor to strengthen their own position at the expense of the working class. This provides the basis for an effort to eliminate all existing democratic rights of the masses. Thus, at best, the future of precisely those points in the American Constitution which guarantee any democracy is dark indeed. In fact, already for the past fifty years, the American masses have been going through this very experience.

In the U.S.S.R., the growing abundance, the growing unity of the people as a whole and the destruction of the last vestiges of individual ownership of the means of production—the people developing a greater common interest—will provide the basis for extending the democracy already provided for in this Constitution.

The increasing prosperity and well-being, the increasing democracy, the new, better and more joyous life which the Soviet masses now enjoy,

they will dearly protect. It is doubtful whether, in the conditions of life that now obtain in the Soviet Union, there is enough counter-revolutionary garbage left to fill a good-sized garbage can. But if there is and it shows its head, the Soviet masses will know how to dump it.

The Social-Democratic workers must have the courage to re-examine the road they have traveled in Germany and Austria and other countries and contrast its disasters with the road of success taken by the Soviet workers.

The toilers of the world who follow the Communist Party will take new courage and spirit from this Soviet charter of human liberty.

The toilers who have allowed themselves to be misled by fascist promises must now take stock anew and not allow themselves to be led into a new medieval age.

The workers in the capitalist countries where a measure of bourgeois democracy still remains, as in the U.S., should compare the rights granted to them by the U.S. Constitution (and taken away in practice) and see how small even these formal rights are as compared to those won by the Soviet workers.

The voices of a few reactionary Social-Democratic leaders or open counter-revolutionaries will find no echo among the masses of toilers the world over. On the contrary, even the reactionary bourgeois press, under pressure of the sentiment of the masses, is forced to pay tribute to the new Soviet Constitution. The toilers of the world have received it with great joy. The masses of oppressed in all capitalist countries see it as a Magna Carta of the toilers which establishes the rights of mankind upon a plane never before known. The peoples of the Soviet Union are conscious of the great gains they have made for all civilization in this Constitution and they will know how to protect those gains. This Constitution clearly defines to the masses of the toilers of the whole world the aims for which they must struggle in order to win their right to bread, peace, and liberty.

". . . Only Soviet Russia has given the proletariat, and the entire gigantic majority of the working people of Russia such *freedom and democracy* as are unheard of, impossible, and unthinkable in a single bourgeois democratic republic, by, for instance, depriving the bourgeoisie of their palaces and mansions (without this, freedom of assembly is hypocrisy), by depriving the capitalists of the printing presses and paper (without this, freedom of the press for the toiling majority of the nation is a lie); and by replacing bourgeois parliamentarism by the democratic organization of *Soviets, a thousand times* closer to the 'people', more 'democratic', than the most democratic bourgeois parliament." (*Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky"*.)

The Real Rulers of Fascist Austria

By I. AVAR

THE Austrian clerical fascists are extremely dissatisfied with the draft of the new Soviet Constitution. At the signal of the Pope, who is trying by his fulminations against Communism to weaken the attractive power of Soviet democracy over Catholic working people, the clerical papers of Austro-fascism have opened a hurricane of fire against the new Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. This clerical criticism of the Soviet Constitution is purely Jesuit in character. The newspaper Reichspost, which jubilantly greets the drive of Degrelle, the leader of the Belgian fascists, against parties and consequently against the Catholic Party of Belgium, states that the draft of the new Soviet Constitution in fact does not guarantee the people a decisive voice in the administration of the country, because it does not provide for the existence of parliamentary oppositional parties. The Soviet Constitution, we see, is not democratic enough for the Austrian fascists!

But what does their constitution look like? Why did Austrian fascism, which was victorious in February, 1934, need a constitution at all? The German fascists did not establish a new constitution in place of the Weimar Constitution. Why did Austrian fascism require a fig-leaf in the shape of a constitution? It would be a mistake to explain this difference between Austrian and German fascism simply by the role played by the Catholic church in the system of Austrian fascism, simply by the traditional hypocrisy of the Jesuits and their pupils. In their struggle against Hitler fascism which threatens the independence of Austria, Austro-fascism had to make certain concessions to its rank-and-file supporters among the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. The Austro-fascists even had to flirt with the workers, who were defeated but not broken in February, 1934. The Austro-fascists tried to depict their regime as something differing in principle from the "totalitarian" dictatorship of Hitler, as an "authoritative democracy of guilds". The hypocrisy expressed in the proclamation of a new Constitution after the February events in 1934 was rendered necessary by the relation of class forces in Austria.

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In the Soviet Constitution the principle of the sovereignty of the people is most consistently carried through. The people, in the person of their deputies elected on the basis of equal, direct, universal and secret suffrage, in the person of the Supreme Council, have legislative power, while the executive organs of the state are elected organs subordinate to the legislative power and responsible to it. The Austrian Constitution, on the contrary, endows the executive power—the President and the Government—with all rights, as opposed to the legislative organs which

are dependent on them. These legislative organs—the Council of State, the Federal Economic Council, the Council of Provinces, the Federal Council of Culture and the so-called legislative organs, the Federal Parliament, composed of delegates from these four preliminary "consultative" bodies—are all entirely dependent on the government, according to the Constitution.

The Council of State, the Economic Council, the Council of the Provinces and the Council of Culture have no decisive voice in discussing the legislation proposed by the Government. They can only "give their conclusions", and in the Constitution they are called legislative consultative bodies. If the Government so thinks fit, it can take note of these "conclusions", and if it does not, it ignores them.

In order to ensure that the consultative organs of the legislature will be independent of the people, and to prevent these fascist bodies being subjected to the influence of the masses, even in a distorted way, their sessions are held behind closed doors. Only the Federal Parliament has a decisive voice in the discussion of bills. But what kind of a decisive voice is it? The Federal Parliament has not the right to discuss government bills, but must vote them without discussion. The deputies have not the right to put questions, or to make urgent proposals, nor have they the right to introduce bills. They have not got parliamentary immunity, this old democratic guarantee of the freedom of the representatives elected by the people.

It is true that parliament has the right to pass the budget. Parliament is even allowed to discuss questions concerning the budget. But even this scrap of democracy is pure hypocrisy, because the Constitution demands that the government present the budget ten weeks before the end of the fiscal year, and if parliament does not complete its examination of the budget within six weeks, the budget is considered to be "accepted and automatically comes into force". When the government was unable to present the budget for the 1936 fiscal year by the date fixed in the Constitution, owing to the objections of the English creditors of the "Kreditanstalt", the corresponding article of the Constitution was abolished by a simple decree of the government. A constitution one section after another of which can be twisted and violated by its authors ceases to be a constitution.

But it would be a mistake to think that the legislative organs are at least in the same degree independent of the executive powers as the executive power is of them. The President appoints the government. He appoints the members of the Council of State, he "convenes" the members of the Council of Culture and the Economic Council and, as he also appoints the provincial governors, who are at the head of the administration of the various provinces and who form the Council of the Provinces, the legislative organs in the aggregate consist of people directly or indirectly appointed by the government. The governor of a province in his turn appoints the members of the provincial government. He appoints all the members of the Landtag. He also appoints the Mayors (Burgomeisters) who are at the head of the municipal governments. In their turn the Mayors appoint the members of the municipalities.

In Austria, all the legislative organs are organs which depend on the executive power. The dependence of the controlling organs on the organs which they control is carried through consistently from top to bottom in the Austro-fascist Constitution.

But the fascist authors of the Constitution were not content with reducing legislation to the level of a function of the executive power and instead of electing the legislative organs from below, they appoint it from above. Even in these appointed organs, the fascists ensure themselves unlimited power by means of a number of measures. "In order to ensure public order and safety, in order to guard the important economic interests of the population or the financial interests of the state", the government can issue decrees which have the force of law. The "emergency powers" of the President go still further. He can not only change the laws or veto them, but he can change or abolish whole paragraphs of the Constitution by simply issuing an order. The Soviet Constitution does not give any "emergency powers" to the government. It excludes any possibility of a constitutional crisis. The Austrian Constitution provides for the President being able to "recall the members of the Council of Culture and the Economic Council, and appoint other members to their places in these consultative organs of the legislative power". The governor of a province can also dismiss members of the municipality, and he himself can be removed by the government.

In the Soviet Constitution there is also an article on the right to recall deputies. But it is a supplementary means by which the people can keep control over the deputies they have elected, while the principle of dismissal in the Austrian Constitution is, on the contrary, an additional means of maintaining the dependence on the government of even these legislative organs, appointed though they are from above. Soviet democracy consistently carries out two democratic principles, namely, the principle of the independence of the people's representatives of the government as shown in the articles about the direct election of deputies by the toilers, their immunity and the right to interpellate and the principle of the dependence of deputies on the people as shown in the articles on the right to recall and the obligation of deputies to report to their electors. The Austrian Constitution is just the reverse, and ensures the dependence of the legislators on the government, and their independence of the people.

The list of the numerous guarantees against democracy in the Austrian Constitution would not be complete if we did not mention the functions of the "Fatherland Front", this monopolist political organization of Austrian fascism. According to the law of May 1, 1934, the "Fatherland Front" is "built on the authoritarian basis of a legal public association". In other words, it is an organ of the fascist government. The dictatorship of the "Fuehrer" dominates in it. The law states that:

> "The members of the 'Fatherland Front' can only receive mandates in the consultative organs of the legislative power of the state, in the Landtags and the municipalities and in representative bodies of other organs of local government, with the consent of the Fuehrer."

This means that it is possible by law for the head of the government, who is simultaneously leader of the "Fatherland Front", to remove all the deputies from any organ of the state. The elections to the Peasant Councils which took place recently in Vorarlberg are a plain demonstration of the specific nature of Austro-fascist "democracy". Only members of the "Fatherland Front" have the right to vote and to be elected. The Article in the Constitution according to which the organs of power are filled only with people "devoted to the Fatherland" means in practice that Schuschnigg has full freedom to appoint "representatives of the people" at his own choice.

The newspaper *Reichspost* of June 13 probably had the Austrian Constitution in view when it claimed that the Soviet Constitution "only allows Party members to be primary electors to the Municipal Soviets".

Anyone who knows the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. and who is not blinded with hostility towards the country of socialism knows that neither the present Soviet Constitution nor the draft of the new Constitution gives the right only to Communists to be deputies.

From a legal point of view, the Austrian government is based on the dictatorship of the executive power. But this Constitution with its "authoritative" autocratic government is simply a screen. The legislative organs are appointed by the executive power, but the latter does not appoint them at its own discretion. Its dictatorial hand is guided by the big bourgeoisie.

The Austrian Constitution provides for representatives elected on the "basis of guilds and professions" constituting the membership of the Economic Council, the Landtags and municipalities. Every guild and professional group receives a previously determined number of mandates. A member of a "guild and professional group" cannot join the electors of another group, even though he is connected with them by a common class position and identical political views. The Austrian Constitution recognizes seven basic "professional and guild groups":

(1) Agriculture and forestry; (2) Industry and mining; (3) Handicrafts; (4) Commerce and transport; (5) The Money Credit and the Insurance System; (6) Liberal professions; (7) Government and communal organs and institutions. These "guilds" were formed in 1934 and 1935 and, what is more, the "industry and mining" group, for example, was formed by simply re-christening the former employers' organization ("The Austrian Industrialists Association"), into "Association of Austrian Industry" and by giving the new "guild organization" the right to make decisions binding on those who are not members of it. The "professional and guild groups" proved to be the organization for the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie over the smaller bourgeoisie. The chiefs of the professional and guild groups are the head directors of big industrial companies, Mandel of the Hirtenberg cartridge factory, Knaur from the Felton und Guillamme Company, Demmer from the locomotive works in Vienna, Apold from the Alpine-Montan Mining Company.

In establishing the "handicrafts" professional and guild group as a compulsory organization, the employers and workers were united into separate guilds but the organizations and committees of the workers in

small industry were abolished. A later law took away from the handicraft workers even the right to sue their employers in the courts. Complaints by workers have to be examined not by the court but by the "Professional and Guild Committee". This means that the employers become the judges in cases directed against them. A fascist edition of feudal justice! The employers have again and again put forward the demand for the dissolution of even the fascist trade unions since they are "against the principles of guild and professional structure".

The guild system is a means of politically suppressing the toiling majority by the exploiting minority. The Vienna-Neustadt Municipality (an industrial district in Lower Austria) which is almost exclusively working class, is constructed on "professional and Guild lines" in the following way: out of the 31 members, there are two factory workers, one builder, one commercial employee, and 27 representatives of the propertied classes. The Vienna Town Council is similarly composed. The "agricultural" guild group elected to the Economic Council 17 representatives of the landowners, and 12 representatives of the agricultural workers. We do not dwell on the fact that among the "workers' representatives" there are directors and secretaries of the Peasants' Union and Chamber of Agriculture. The "industry, commerce and handicrafts" group sent 19 people of independent means (owners of factories) and 17 non-independent people, factory and office workers to sit on the Economic Council. Thus a few thousand employers have more representatives than one and a half million workers. Big industry has seven representatives from among the "independent" owners, while handicraftsmen, of whom there are hundreds of thousands, also have seven representatives.

The suppression of the weak by the strong is consistently carried out everywhere. Of 59 members of parliament, there are only five workers' representatives and one representative of the small farmers; but there are 53 deputies who represent the propertied classes. And what workers' representatives they are! Composed of chairmen and secretaries of strikebreaking organizations! Lengauer, the president of the "Independent Trade Union" (a strikebreaking organization founded by the "Alpine-Montan" company), is vice-president of the Economic Council by virtue of being a "workers' representative".

Fascism openly destroys the last remnants of democracy: it gives political privileges to the exploiting class, and makes the workers into second-grade citizens with less rights.

The aim of the professional guild structure is to split the working class, to scatter its forces, and prevent it from participating in the political life of the country.

The abolition of the system of general elections, the change from parliamentarism to the "guild system" in Austria represents the open transition to a state which represents the interests of an insignificant group of the most reactionary leaders of the bourgeoisie.

But the section of the new Soviet Constitution which establishes equal voting rights reflects the fact that the legal preference formerly given to the working class by comparison with other strata of the toilers disappears, that the last limitations to democracy in the Soviet Union vanish.

Who are the members of the legislative organs of the "Guild State"? The Council of State consists of scions of the "blue-blooded" aristocrats of the Hapsburg period: Baron Coreth, Count Hoyos, Baron Morsey, Prince Schonburg-Hartenstein, Count Thurn-Vasassina, and so on. Counts Sturght, Kotulinsky, Meran and Revertera are provincial governors, Chiefs of Police, Commanders of the fascist "military police" and the army. Austrian fascism breathed new life into these decaying wrecks of the Hapsburg monarchy; they were restored to life as aristocratic representatives of, and highly-born participants in, the financial capitalist oligarchy, with whom they became linked up. Weakened by the crisis, the Austrian bourgeoisie is in need of the political services of this old caste of nobles with their traditions and the brilliancy of their names.

The direct representatives of the financial oligarchy in the Council of State and the Economic Council are Kienbock and Joachim. Kienbock, in the role of President of the National Bank, wields great influence over the Austrian banks. Another figure is Joseph Joham who is President of the reorganized "Kreditanstalt", the only big bank which survived the big bank crash of 1931-32, and on the "rehabilitation" of which the government squandered hundreds of millions from its treasury. The "Kreditanstalt" has again taken up a leading position in Austrian economy. Joham is a member of the board of directors of twelve industrial companies. Together with Kienbock, he represents the foreign capitalist creditors of the "Kreditanstalt" on the legislative bodies of Austria. One of the influential members of the Economic Council and the Manufacturers Association is the big magnate Urban. Then there is the patron of the Heimwehr, Mandel, owner of armament factories, a friend of Starhemberg, and a big contractor for Mussolini. As a mark of appreciation for Mandel's solicitude towards "social welfare" (*i.e.*, the arming of the Heimwehr) he was also appointed a Deputy to the Lower Austrian Landtag.

In the "Guild State", all distinctions between politicians and big capitalist owners are obliterated. Since the victory of fascism, it has become customary for the big bourgeoisie to invite aristocrats to sit on the boards of directors of their companies. The financial capitalists sometimes assign the protection of their interests in politics to the aristocrats but at the same time they draw them into business life. Mandel is a munitions manufacturer and an ordinary Landtag Deputy, but he has put Baron Morsey and Prince Windischgratz on the board of directors of his ammunition works.

Members of the Austrian legislative organs are at the same time directors of industrial concerns and munition factories. They are officers and big landowners and are on the boards of directors of the banks and insurance companies. In Austria, corruption is not illegal, but is quite an accepted form of putting the organs of state under the dictatorship of the rich. Kienbock is a member of the State Council, but his partner, Fogler-Deinhartstein, has been made President of the Austrian Insurance Society, founded with the help of government subsidies, after the bankruptcy of the "Phoenix". Stockinger is Minister of Commerce, but at the

same time he is a member of the board of directors of the Dairy Products Company to which the Government gave a subsidy from the "milk fund" for the export of butter. Draxler is Minister of Finance, but he is also a member of the Presidium of the Lower Austrian Industrial Association, a big semi-government credit institution. The bankruptcy of the "Phoenix" insurance company which, through its practice of bribery, had shattered the whole government apparatus of Austrian fascism, was not one of the usual forms of scandal that occur in every bourgeois-democratic country: it showed that the fascist state apparatus and the big bourgeoisie had completely merged into one another.

Whereas Vangoin, Baron Coreth and Prince Schonburg-Hartenstein, members of the Council of State, were bribed by the "Phoenix" as Government officials, on the other hand, general directors Strafella and Reininghans, members of the Economic Council, became Government officials, precisely because they were shrewd businessmen.

There are two more forces which we must not forget when we talk about the real masters of Austria. These forces, whose monopolist position is part and parcel of the "traditions of Austria", are the Church and police.

The Church has never been separated from the state in Austria, but they have openly merged there. The guns used in the February uprising were blessed by Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna. All the fascist apparatus of suppression is surrounded by the oracle of "Christianity". Consequently, the Church not only acts as an auxiliary ideological organ of fascism, but also as a power having the right to punish oppositional elements in the Catholic fold.

Ude, Professor of Philology in Gratz, was dismissed by the church authorities for his oppositional activity and his democratic line of thought. The priest at the Church of St. Rochus in Vienna was removed for delivering a sermon against graft in government circles. Any opposition to fascism, any statement in favor of democracy, even in the Catholic camp, is directed not only against Schuschnigg and Starhemberg, Mandel and Kienbock, but against Cardinal Innitzer and the Jesuit Father Bichelmeyer, who, in spite of his "celibacy", belongs to the "families" ruling in present-day Austria.

The Catholic Church is a state within a state—for Austria is after all a "Christian" guild state. The Concordat with the Vatican concluded in 1933 has the force of constitutional law. In Austria the Catholic Church not only enjoys a privileged position in relation to other religious bodies, but it has also become fused with the state organs. Its representatives sit in the Cultural Councils, the Landtags and the Municipal Councils. "The Catholic Church of Austria holds a legally public position"—says Article 4 of the Concordat. The Church influences politics. It has a decisive influence on the school, not only from the point of view of the compulsory teaching of religious subjects but on the school as a whole. The state has ceded to the Church the reins of administration on such an important question as matrimonial law.

The state has no power to intervene either in the appointment of the Church hierarchy or in the administration of Church property, but

it must pay stipends to the priests, finance the Church schools, and place its court bailiffs and gendarmerie at the disposal of the Churches for the collection of Church taxes. In addition, the Catholic Church in Austria has its own political organization; the "Catholic Action". This political organization is also not liable to state control. The Constitution promises the people "full freedom of religion and conscience, and freedom of worship at home or in public places" (Art. 27), but adds "insofar as this is not incompatible with social order or sound morals". What does this limitation mean? It means that the wholesale dismissals of the railwaymen, who left the Church after the blood-bath in Vienna on July 15, 1927, were sanctioned by the Constitution. It is true that the Constitution says:

> "Nobody can be forced to carry out any church ritual or participate in church festivals."

But it adds:

> "This clause does not apply to obligations arising from family authority, the authority of teachers or any other lawfully established power."

Thus, if an official simply does not attend church matins, he may be dismissed. It is also a crime to leave the Church; a person who transfers from the Catholic Church to the Protestant Church is generally persecuted as a National-Socialist, but if he does not recognize any religion, then he is persecuted as a Communist or Socialist for "belonging to an illegal party".

Although the Catholic Church has privileges in fascist Austria, the police are the authority which scatters all civil rights to dust. It is true that Article 19 of the Constitution says that "freedom of the person is guaranteed" and that "a person may only be imprisoned by order of the courts on proper grounds". But when the police make arrests, this is equivalent under the Constitution to arrests by order of court. Although "the home of every citizen is inviolable", the police, according to the Constitution, may, "in case of danger", make searches at their own discretion. And they make wide use of this right given to them under the Constitution. In one year alone (1934-35), the police made searches in one-fifth of the houses in Vienna. It is true that under the Constitution justice is separate from the administration, but according to the "transitional law" of the Constitution the police have juridical functions—they can apply "summary punishments" up to one year's imprisonment. If an Austrian court of law, as an exception, acquits a Communist or Socialist, he will not escape "summary punishment" by the police. If a law court sentences a worker to two years for illegal activity, the police by their own powers increase the term to three years by enforcing additional punishment. Thus the Austrian Constitution permits sentence to be passed twice in one and the same case—once by the courts and once by the police. The police have therefore the right to destroy all the "rights" and "liberties" of the citizens.

The draft of the new Soviet Constitution provides for real civil

rights—freedom of speech, press, assembly and meeting and street demonstrations, etc., which are "ensured by placing at the disposal of the toilers and their organizations printing presses, supplies of paper, public buildings, the streets, means of communication and other material requisite for the exercise of these rights". (Art. 12.) Under bourgeois democracy, the civil rights proclaimed on paper are subject to numerous restrictions, and in fascist conditions, of course, the police retain the right to destroy the rights of the citizens.

The draft of the new Soviet Constitution opens with a brilliant paragraph on the organization of society. The toilers of the Soviet country declare to the world that the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the "socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production". (Art. 4.)

The economic basis of the U.S.S.R. guaranteed the declaration of the rights and liberties to which Chapter X of the draft of the New Constitution is devoted. This socialist foundation *guarantees* the real right to work, to leisure, to material support in old age, the inviolability of the person, etc.

The Austrian Constitution is very miserly and brief in what it says about the organization of society, and even this not at the beginning of the Constitution, but only in the second paragraph of Article 33. Here are the words: "Property is inviolable."

There is not a word in the Constitution as to whether peasant property is "inviolable" against the tax collector, or whether "the inviolability of property" only applies to the estates of the various archbishops, monasteries and counts, who need to be guarded against the encroachments of the farm workers and the landless peasants. But actual practice and the activity of the authorities make the Constitution clear. The thing in question is the inviolability of the property of Counts Hoyos and Sturghk, the capitalists Mandel and Urban, the bankers Joham and Kienbock. This is the be-all and end-all of the wisdom of the Austrian Constitution!

"We Communists look with the greatest confidence to the future of the Austrian working class. We are firmly convinced of the final victory of the proletariat throughout the world. This firm conviction gave me strength during the Liepzig trial, to look the ferocious enemy straight in the face, just as the glorious fighters of the Karl Marx House looked in the face of death. Beyond the incendiary fires and ruin, beyond the slavery and misery, with fascism is bringing, we saw in the East the U.S.S.R.—the gigantic stronghold of the working class of the world. There is no force which can stay the historic march of humanity to socialism. One of the battles is over, the fighters count those who have fallen, but their strength is not broken; the great proletarian army is marching onward to its final victory." (*Georgi Dimitroff "Letter to the Austrian Workers". See "The Communist International", No. 10, 1934, p. 338.*)

The Gallant Medzinski Is Scared and Tries to Scare Others

By JAN

THE united front movement of the working class and the people's anti-fascist front are a particular source of terror to the upper circles of the Polish bourgeoisie and the Polish fascist camp. This terror is to be felt in all newspaper articles and in the statements made by ministers, and is driving the fascist camp to seek new means of deceiving the masses, new means of strengthening the fascist regime.

The united proletarian front and the anti-fascist People's Front, born in struggle, and raised aloft by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern as a fighting banner and a beacon light pointing the way to the peoples of the entire world—have aroused both fear and rabid hatred among the bourgeoisie. The first real experiments, and then the first big victories of the People's Front in France and Spain still further deepened the fury of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Especially sharp was their reaction to the successes of the united front of France, for both the Pilsudski camp and the reactionary national-democratic opposition long ago placed all their hopes on the strengthening of the reactionary elements in France.

The fascist politicians are trying to introduce confusion among the people, by declaiming in various strains that "The United Front and People's Front is Communism", "The United and People's Front is the road to a Kerensky regime and the destruction of the Left parties by the Communists", "The United Front is a maneuver", "The People's Front is Soviet diplomacy".

An example of these tactics was the article of Medzinski in the *Gazeta Polska*, organ of the Colonels' group, entitled "The People's Front". The aim of the article was to indulge in a little coaxing and to sound a warning and also to scare the leaders of the Socialist Party of Poland. This very same method was adopted to the letter a little later by the present Prime Minister, Slavoi-Skladkovski, in his declaration in the Sejm. The central argument, the invariable scare-crow put forward by Medzinski, is the danger to the independence of Poland created by the People's Front.

The People's Front, Medzinski declares, is a maneuver of the Communists calculated to weaken other parties and to establish a Kerensky regime, to be followed by a dictatorship of the proletariat which means the loss of Poland's independence. The most dangerous thing about these new tactics, he states, is that the Communists, who formerly underestimated national sentiments, are reaching out their hands to these sentiments. And here is the Socialist Party of Poland "which has filled such splendid pages in the history of the struggle for independence"

opposing, it is true, the People's Front, but at the same time agreeing to the conclusion of non-aggression pacts with the Communists which "threaten their independence".

One must indeed be gifted with fascist cynicism, and be without constraint, to put forth such a thesis. But logic interests M. Medzinski very little. All that he is interested in is to make use of the slogan of the defense of Poland's independence, which has long been worn out by the fascist politicians but which still has its traditions within the ranks of the Socialist Party of Poland, in the struggle against the People's Front.

M. Medzinski raises the scare of a Kerensky regime. The Kerensky regime was, first and foremost, the betrayal of the interests of the people, and for this reason the Communists, who hold these interests dear, will never lead anyone along the path of Kerensky. The people of Russia demanded peace, land and bread. The bourgeoisie used Kerensky to drive the people to continue the hated war, protected estates of the landlords and by their war policy led the economy of the country to complete catastrophe. The Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries at that time betrayed the interests of the people. They took the line of further participation in the imperialist slaughter and hindered the struggle of the peasants for the land. The Russian S.-R.'s, headed by Chernov, who had formerly talked of giving the land to the peasant, helped Kerensky to defend the landlords. They promised the peasants that the Constituent Assembly would solve this question by legal means, but sabotaged the calling of the Constituent Assembly. These parties rejected the struggle for even the limitation of the robber policy of the capitalists, and fought against the works committees. All of this led to complete bankruptcy, a complete loss of influence over the masses by the Menshevik and S.-R. parties.

Let M. Medzinski outline whatever historic lines of development will be taken by the Peasant and Socialist Parties he may wish. We, however, propose that these parties should take not the path of betrayal but that of joint struggle in the interests of the people, for their political rights, for peace and land, for an improvement of the living conditions and against the deadly enemy of the people—native and Hitler fascism.

Such a joint struggle is fully possible and necessary if we really want to overthrow the present fascist regime. It is in the interests of the people, in the interests of every democratic party, every party bound up with the people.

To make the argument about the Kerensky regime more convincing, M. Medzinski reinforced it by still another example. He reminded his readers about the fate of the Georgian Mensheviks. M. Medzinski obviously speculated on the feelings and sympathies of the leaders of the Second International towards the Georgian Mensheviks, and decided in the present instance to overlook historical facts altogether. It appears that the Georgian Mensheviks also met their doom because of a non-aggression pact. This is what M. Medzinski has to say:

> "Allow us to point to the example of Georgia, which prior to the Soviet annexation was also led by comrades from the

> Second International, by Georgian Mensheviks who, during the several years of their rule, adopted the system of 'non-aggression pacts' in relation to the Bolsheviks, maintaining that they could not take repressive measures against people who were Marxists as they themselves were only more radical. . . . As a result, the independence of that splendid country with its ancient culture passed out of history."

M. Medzinski has made a most unusually valuable historical discovery. Without stopping long to argue, let us give the floor to the leaders of the Georgian Mensheviks themselves. We will use some material from the book, *Fifteen Years of the Georgian S.S.R.*, published in the Soviet Union, which under the present-day conditions in Poland does not, to our regret, get to broad masses of readers.

> "On the 26th of April, 1918, in the Transcaucasian Parliament, Tzeretelli, one of the leaders of Georgian and Russian Menshevism, said the following:
>
> " 'When Bolshevism came into being in Russia, and when a deadly hand was raised there against the state, we used all the strength at our disposal to struggle against Bolshevism, because we understood a blow aimed at th Russian nation and th Russian state was a blow against democracy as a whole. We fought there against the assassins of the state and the nation, and we shall fight with the same persistence against the murderers of the nation here.' "

These words taken from the stenographic report of the Transcaucasion Parliament are a most splendid illustration of the "pact of non-aggression" discovered by M. Medzinski. But maybe this is an accidental slip of the tongue? In which case let us hear what Gegechcory, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Menshevik government of Georgia, had to say. On September 25, 1918, this gentleman attended a conference of representatives of the Black Hundred Kuban government and of the White-Guard army in the city of Ekaterinodar, and in a speech made there declared:

> "On the question of our relations with the Bolsheviks I can say that the struggle against Bolshevism within our borders is a merciless one. We are using all the means at our disposal to suppress Bolshevism as a movement directed against the state, a movement threatening the integrity of our state. I think that in this respect we have already given a series of proofs which speak for themselves. . . . In addition I feel it my duty to remind you that the services we have rendered you in the struggle against Bolshevism should not be forgotten. . . ."

Well, there was a "non-aggression pact", there was a genuine "united front"! It was a united front with the Russian counter-revolution, with the reaction of the Black Hundred generals who for many years suppressed and brought destruction on the Georgian people. There was a united front with German imperialism and with the German troops of occupation "whose task was to defend the borders of the Georgian democratic republic in full agreement with and at the orders of the Government of Georgia". This is what the government of Georgia an-

nounced to the population, on June 13, 1918. Later there was a "united front" with the British army of occupation, with the armies of the interventionists.

Thus it was that the Georgian Mensheviks sold their country and its independence. At the same time they led the country to economic ruin, as was admitted by Jordania, head of the Menshevik government, in his speech at the economic conference held on October 16, 1920:

> "Some time ago we said that economically we were rapidly moving toward catastrophe. . . . But now this conjecture has already come true, and now every one of us is experiencing all the sharpness of the bitter reality. We have already come to the catastrophe."

Is it surprising that after all this the people of Georgia overthrew and drove out the Mensheviks together with their imperialist masters? Is it surprising after all this that the free people of Georgia today remember that period as the most disgraceful period in the history of Georgia?

We leave it to M. Medzinski to invent historical analogies, but we call on the Socialist and Peasant Parties of Poland not to take the path of betraying the interests of the people, but that of struggle against such betrayal, and for freedom and a better future.

M. Medzinski raises the scare that the People's Front—and as far as he is concerned this means the same as Communism—threatens to lose Poland her national independence. This is an old worthless trick calculated on a lack of common sense!

The Socialist Party of Poland, however, devotes much attention to this argument in two articles published in answer to M. Medzinski. The Socialist Party of Poland defends us. Let us immediately occupy ourselves with this "defense", for it shows how the arguments of Medzinski are absorbed into the heads of the people for whom they are intended.

The organ of the Socialist Party of Poland, *Robotnik*, agrees with M. Medzinski that there "was a period" when Soviet Russia—and according to *Robotnik* this is the same as the Comintern—threatened the independence of other countries. "But that period has passed." By the way, Lenin always stood for the independence of Poland and the Polish Communists, today, withdraw the halo from Rosa Luxemburg on this question and recognize that Lenin was right. Therefore, today—in the present situation, so to speak—the Communists do not represent any danger to the independence of Poland.

There is no logic in this argument. If Lenin stood for the independence of Poland, and it is well known that Lenin and the Bolsheviks always recognized the right of peoples to self-determination to the point of separation, it is likewise well known that the Soviet Union has never pursued any other kind of national policy but that of Lenin and Stalin, a policy which is hostile to all national oppression, a policy which recognizes the right of all peoples to self-determination. Let the *Robotnik* definitely state the "period" of which it speaks. We can easily remind the *Robotnik* of various periods.

Has it in mind the period of the victory of the great proletarian

revolution, the period when all power passed into the hands of the Soviets, which brought liberation to all the peoples oppressed under the tsarist regime? Has it in mind the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the first acts of which was the decree on the rights of the peoples, the solemn declaration of their right to independent existence? Or, maybe, it refers to the period of the establishment of the Polish state and Polish armed forces which immediately undertook aggressive action against the Soviet Union. At that time, even prior to the war of 1920, the Soviet Union on more than one occasion addressed peace proposals to Poland on terms more favorable than those later concluded by the Riga agreement.

And, finally, let us call to mind the year 1920, the Polish-Soviet war, which often serves to scare those who do not know or who consciously distort history. Let us recall that it was the result of the predatory attack on Kiev carried out by Pilsudski at the orders of the Entente and in the interests of the Polish landlords and manufacturers. We could very easily call to mind also the later period, up to the proposal for the conclusion of the Eastern Pact, and for the mutual guarantee of borders rejected by Poland. But let us stop at this point and point out that the *Robotnik*, even if only today, recognizes the peaceful character of the policy of the Soviet Union and the Comintern.

"The Communists are withdrawing the halo from Rosa Luxemburg" —says the *Robotnik*. Let us also accept the blow of this heavy missile directed against our past. Rosa Luxemburg, who was forced to emigrate, gave more than half her life and her strength to the struggle of the German people. But she grew up and become a revolutionary in Poland. The poverty, exploitation, oppression, and national oppression, which the Polish people suffered, influenced her to take the path of revolutionary struggle, the struggle against oppression and the exploiters. The heart of this great revolutionary woman was filled with hatred toward reaction and oppression.

"The Communists are withdrawing the halo from Rosa Luxemburg" —says the *Robotnik*. It would be an unheard-of distortion of history, and a piece of slander if any one attempted in this way to reproach the great revolutionary that she justified or wished to preserve any kind of oppression or slavery whatsoever, to preserve national dependence and slavery. She sought for means of doing away with all forms of oppression by overthrowing tsarism and by doing away with the capitalist system by means of a social revolution. If we criticize her today, for not having been able to point out the correct path—since she did not understand in a Marxist way the role and tendencies of the development of social forces—we thereby in no way withdraw the halo from her as one of the most devoted fighters against all oppression and slavery. And there can be no doubt whatsoever that the heart of this woman revolutionary really loved the people and the country where she was born and for the freedom of which she fought, not as the pseudo-patriots who oppress the people and who, but yesterday, sold the interests of their country in the interests of the ruling class to Tsar Nicholas and Kaiser Wilhelm, and today are selling them to the likes of Hitler.

One must possess the cynicism and impudence of a fascist hack-writer to see in the Communists the danger threatening Poland's independence, at a time when independent Poland itself oppresses other peoples, when the question of the independence of Poland arises exclusively in respect to the danger of fascism, from without and within the country, and today when Medzinski and his like are doing all they can by their policy to hand Poland over to be devoured by Hitler.

M. Medzinski does not even attempt to discuss this assertion. It is sufficient for him that the Communists are striving to bring about a Soviet Poland, to set up a Polish Soviet Republic which in the scare language of M. Medzinski would be the "eighth Soviet Republic".

The Polish Soviet Republic, we Communists declare, is the only form of government which guarantees the rule of the workers and peasants, which guarantees complete social liberation by doing away with all dependence on the imperialists, and guaranteeing national independence. This form presupposes the overthrow of capitalism, the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords. It is for this reason that M. Medzinski is indignant and spreads slanders, for he understands independent Poland as being only that Poland which is governed by the capitalists and landlords independent of the people.

The workers' and peasants' state, the Soviet state, can establish relations with other peoples, relations which are based not on robbery, war or imperialist dependence, but on brotherly collaboration and mutual cooperation. Remember how Lenin approached this question:

> "We want a *voluntary* union of nations, a union which would permit of no violence of one nation against another—a union based on the fullest confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on completely voluntary agreement. Such a union cannot be created at once. Before it can be achieved the greatest patience and care must be displayed so as not to spoil it all, so as not to call forth mistrust, so as to make it possible to outlive the distrust remaining after centuries of oppression by the landlords and capitalists, by private property and the enmity arising from its division and redivision."

We Communists are convinced that the masses of the people will follow the path which we indicate to the end and achieve complete social liberation, national freedom and prosperity. But today we are proposing to other parties that they carry on a struggle along with us—not for our final aims but for the most burning and immediate demands, such as the struggle to defend the democratic rights and liberties already won in struggle, in defense of the lives and independence of the people, against the treacherous policy of fascism within the country, and against the robber policy of the frenzied Hitlerites.

M. Medzinski is upset most of all by the fact that the Communists, who formerly "underestimated national sentiments" now reach out their hands to these sentiments. There is nothing surprising in the fact that this upsets M. Medzinski. Gentlemen of his caliber and the handful of landlords and capitalists who bewail their lot always jealously guarded

their monopoly over the "national sentiments" and the traditions of the past.

Very well, we admit that we have occupied ourselves too little with explaining the role of Messrs, Radzivilli, Lyubomirsky and other big landlords in the history of the Polish people, that we have done too little to throw light on the heroic struggle carried on by the masses of the people against oppression and reaction, and in this way have made it possible for these magnates to preserve their monopoly over the "national sentiments". We admit that we must and in the future certainly will use every opportunity to show the masses of the people that the big landlords and manufacturers, the Radzivillis, Lyubomirskys, Verzbitskis, Poznanskis, Shaiblers, Pschinskis as well as M. Medzinski and Rydz have no right to represent either the people and their national sentiments or their traditions, and that the interests of these gentlemen are fundamentally opposed to the interests of the majority of the people. For the overwhelming majority of the people are the oppressed and exploited masses, who are deprived of all rights. For the Communist Party is an inalienable section of the working class, is the best, most advanced section of the oppressed working people. For they—these masses, are the bearers of the past and the future of the people.

It is with false, cheap arguments, calculated to appeal to darkness and ignorance, that M. Medzinski tries to spoil the great work of uniting the toilers, of creating the People's Front. But in spite of the efforts of such as Medzinski, the People's Front must and will grow and gather strength. For the daily experience of the masses themselves on the one hand, and the great examples of France and Spain on the other, are more convincing than the banal arguments of Medzinski and his like. The consciousness of the fact that this is the only path to liberation from the fascist yoke, the real path towards a better future, will grow with every day that passes among the masses of the people.

Discussion on the Class Struggle in the "Voelkischer Beobachter"

By WEBER

ON JUNE 7 the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, Hitler's newspaper, began the publication of a series of articles by the theoretician Nonnenbruch. In many ways these articles are symptomatic. They contain quotations from readers' letters which at time very strongly criticize Hitler's economic policy as a capitalist policy, are very bitter about the enormous profits made by employers, and ask when the promised socialism is to arrive.

It is quite natural that the first question that occurs to one is: what has given rise to this singular "discussion" (published, of course, on the back pages of the *V.B.* in the economic section)? We know that the National-Socialists have a trick of anticipating things and replying to questions of interest to the working class, but replying in fascist style so as to provide their followers with appropriate arguments. It is also well known that those in the National-Socialist apparatus who are in more direct contact with the workers, often under pressure from the masses, advance demagogic slogans which are countenanced by the fascist leadership with the idea of confusing the working people. Furthermore it is well known that fascism as hitherto is trying to find ways of disposing decisive sections of the working class in its own favor.

What is behind the discussion in the *Voelkischer Beobachter?* Nonnenbruch himself provides us with an answer to this question, but an analysis of the situation in Germany is still more convincing.

The German capitalists are raking in profits such as they have never made before.

Nonnenbruch himself says: "It cannot be denied that good profits are being made in Germany." (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, June 27.)

At the last Congress of the National-Socialists Ley admitted that the wage level of the individual worker is lower than it was at the crisis level of 1932. With the exception of an insignificant number of highly skilled workers in the munition works the German working class is dragging out a life of semi-starvation. That is why the first of the readers' letters published by Nonnenbruch justly says: "The rich are piling up profits, while all that the poor are getting is a promissory note on the future." (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, June 7.) This, primarily, explains why the *V.B.* began to print Nonnenbruch's series of articles. There is nothing accidential about the time selected for their publication. In France the strike movement has involved millions of workers. Soon after the lowest point of the crisis was passed, it became possible for these workers to cast off part of the burdens of the crisis period. In Germany under fascist rule the German working class even now, four

years after 1932, when the crisis touched bottom, are still faced with this task.

That is why the *V.B.* has willy-nilly to carry on a "discussion" with its readers. Only in the last article, on July 2, did Nonnenbruch say what had given rise to this discussion and what were its purposes:

> "Nothing shows so clearly to the writer what questions the people want answering as readers' letters. The reply to these letters touches on what is being talked about among the people."

The discussion in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* began under the eloquent title of "Is This Capitalism of the Purest Water"? Nonnenbruch tells the readers about a letter received by the editors of *V.B.* which concisely and neatly estimates the "social order" set up by National-Socialism as "capitalism of the purest water". We quote the following most important extracts from this letter:

> "No one who studies economic questions will believe that capitalist economy has disappeared. . . . *Never was capital so powerful and had more privileges than at the present time.* The rich pile up profits, while all the poor get is a promissory note on the future. If this is not *capitalism of the purest water* then I would like to know what is meant by capitalism. . . . Things were no better when capitalism was in full bloom. . . . Hence the economic life of Germany rests on a purely capitalist foundation. . . ."

Letters like this have never been published before by the National-Socialist press. It might, of course, be said that this is a case of letters prepared by the paper itself, and cooked up in such a way to make it easy for them to be refuted. But such letters are not fabricated just because the fabricators want to do so and, what is more, the contradictory way in which they have been handled shows that the editors of *V.B.* do actually receive quite a number of them. We are far from declaring that the letters are reproduced word for word, or that all the letters printed are genuine documents.

In his first article Nonnenbruch abuses the correspondents as being full of envy and stupidity, but in one of the next articles admits that these letters were written by "German workers in whom the will to socialism is alive and who see in National-Socialism the force fulfilling their socialist will". These words reflect the method used by the National-Socialists, who seize on the sentiments of their opponents and nullify the "propaganda of the backbiters". But this time the maneuver will be a very different one, because it is not a question as was the case in May and June of 1934 of the so-called "grumblers and critics", mainly from among the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. They have now to deal with disturbing signs of discontent among the workers who are no longer content to make shift on the starvation wages fixed in the 1932 period of acute crisis. Judging by the fact that Nonnenbruch calls the authors of his letters supporters of the Nazis it may be concluded that even those workers who are under the influence of the National-Socialists are beginning to indulge in criticism.

Nonnenbruch himself has to put his finger on the root of the trouble.

In one of his last articles, published in the *V.B.* of June 11 (likewise in the economic section), he blurts out just what has caused alarm in the leadership of the Nazis. "One can safely say," he admits, "*that in Germany, the events in France are being followed with the keenest interest.*" We won't dispute that. The German workers and Nazi supporters among them are drawing an obvious parallel between the results of the four years of the rule of the fascist dictatorship, and the first steps of the movement inspired by the People's Front in France. The People's Front in France has beaten off the attack of fascism, has defended and has secured democratic freedom of action for the proletariat. As a result of the achievement of trade union unity millions of workers were able to win wage increases of from 7 to 15 per cent, and win social gains for which the French proletariat have struggled for decades. In fascist Germany, on the contrary, the workers are receiving lower wages than in 1932; they have lost all their social gains because under fascism they have been deprived of all their liberties and of the right to organize.

That is the why and the wherefore of the new moods in Germany. It is not surprising that Nonnenbruch in his article says with anxiety that "the chief advantage of the economic policy of the National-Socialists" is often not understood, that "Marxism is easier to understand than National-Socialism", that "Marxist ideas have sunk deep into the heads of the masses". Nonnenbruch lets another cat out of the bag. There are people, he cries (he calls them "gossips" and "irresponsible canaille"), who speak of "the capitalist character of National-Socialism" while "very clever heads have gone so far as to invent the idea"—he is attempting to be ironical—"that we (National-Socialists) have not had a real revolution at all". Evidently this is a nasty smack in the face for the Nazis. In the three and a half years of their dictatorship the fascist leaders have never before admitted to the public that there are people in their midst who think the National-Socialist regime is capitalism of the purest water. They have had to admit this because under the influence of the events in France a ferment has begun among large sections of the German proletariat.

The Nazis first and foremost tried to minimize the great victories of the French proletariat. The *Deutsche Algemeine Zeitung* stated that the French gains smack of something "old-fashioned". Nonnenbruch superciliously declared that such ideas as the "forty-hour week, a fixed wage, the right to organize, etc., are all quite well worn and moth-eaten". But another capitalist newspaper (and the workers in Germany during these days read all the capitalist newspapers, as they did at the time of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International when all newspapers was sold out as soon as they got to the newspaper stalls), the *Kolnische Zeitung*, the organ of Rhineland heavy industry, wrote on June 11:

> "The concessions [yielded by the French employers] are extraordinarily big: under the influence of the revolutionary forms of the movement and the threatening political situation the employers have retreated all along the line."

Nonnenbruch blurted something else out that could stimulate "the

keen interest" of the German workers in the events in France. He admitted that the German capitalists together with the landowners raked in more than 3,500,000,000 in 1935 but added by way of an arithmetic lesson that if this was divided among 16,000,000 each worker would receive 50 pfennigs per day. In reply to this petti-fogging piece of arithmetic which capitalism always offers the workers, a letter was quickly received, and Nonnenbruch had no more chance of concealing it then the rest. This letter reads:

> "We are workers and do not understand what you write in the *V.B.* about 50 pfennigs in order to justify the enormous profits made by the employers. We were told the same things before. But that was not National-Socialism, but capitalism. What, in your opinion, is the difference? Never mind what our names are. All our workmates with whom we have spoken share our opinions. We ask you to answer us in the *V.B.* but no tricks. Is that how you understand the right to work?"

"No tricks" is what the workers demand. And indeed Nonnenbruch had to stop phrasemongering and get down to brass tacks. In the fourth article printed in *V.B.*, on June 17, he calls things by their names. The article was headed "A Far-Seeing Wage Policy". This was the culminating point of the discussion of the National-Socialists with their anonymous correspondents. This reply above all betrays the perplexity of the Nazis in the face of the growing discontent of the proletariat.

What can the National-Socialists say to the German workers about the French victories on the strike front? How do they regard wage increases? Positively or negatively? Of course, negatively, but they don't dare to say this openly. Nonnenbruch even gives the assurance that National-Socialism "will not oppose a strike wave if it begins". Of course, after unemployment has been abolished. As is well known, National-Socialist statistics show that there are in Germany one and a half million unemployed. According to the same sources not more than three-quarters of a million workers are drawn into production every year. Even if we admit the possibility of the complete abolition of unemployment the *German workers have got to drag on until 1938 with a miserable existence on the starvation wage fixed in the 1932 period of acute crisis.* Until that time they are to make the best of the old wage and nothing more. Nonnenbruch openly calls on the employers to introduce rationalization, *i.e.*, to cut wages in a roundabout way. He writes: "Rationalization at the present time means to carry on a prophylactic policy for wages—and at a time when this prophylactic is still possible." Nonnenbruch, who makes wage increases dependent on the disappearance of unemployment, calls on the employers to perpetuate this unemployment by a new wave of rationalization. The readers of the *V.B.* tumbled to this game. In the *V.B.* of July 2 Nonnenbruch published the following letter:

> "You [Nonnenbruch] are now soothing us with talk about waiting for the end of unemployment, but previously you wrote that now, by means of rationalization, labor power must be re-released. This means the continuation of unemployment and the continuation of monstrous profits for the employers while the former low wage rate remains in force. We think that this is

capitalism under the protection of the state, but not the National-Socialism on which the German worker places his hopes. We are at a loss to understand this. Give us a clear answer in the *V.B.*"

The *V.B.* has so far not published a reply to the question. But we can readily imagine what this reply would be. The reply of the Nazis will only sound like a mockery of the just demands of the workers, and thereby involuntarily inspire them to tackle the question of the standard of living and their daily bread in their own way, with their own hands.

The attention of the broad masses of the workers is becoming concentrated on the question of wages together with the struggle for political freedom of action of the German toilers. The *Bergwerkszeitung* of June 19 speaks of the wage problem as a "subject which has become an immediate one in a surprisingly short time". It would, of course, be frivolous not to understand all the difficulties which lie in the path of the German proletariat in their struggle for bread. But even in their darkest hours the German workers have found ways and means of tackling the question of their standard of living. A year ago Ley tried to nip these movements in the bud and stifle them by putting forward the slogan of "high wages" as a National-Socialist I.O.U. on the future. But now it is no longer a question of demagogic promises made by the Nazis, but of the insistent demands of the workers—more insistent than ever before.

Of course, the approaches to great battles must at present be prepared for step by step. The art of the factory workers, the art of the Communist Party will consist in finding in actual practice, in every enterprise, and on all specific questions, even if they are of interest only to the smallest groups of workers, the main link by which it will be possible to raise the questions of social rights, and of freedom of action for the working class. At the same time it is very important that Party work should, without neglecting a single opportunity, be directed towards the decisive industrial plants—at present the munition works; and towards the most important sections of the workers—at present the skilled workers. The German proletarians are sufficiently resourceful and inventive to establish a front against the Nazi dictatorship, and take up the fight for wages, bread and freedom, in accordance with German conditions, and with their own methods of struggle, in spite of the ban on strikes.

There is no need to speak of the importance which just now attaches to the question of the united front and the People's Front. It was the united front that gave confidence in their strength and in victory to the millions of French workers who undertook one of the biggest battles against their own bourgeoisie. The united front of the Communist and the Socialist workers will, at first, make a breach, and prepare for the fight perhaps only tens, then hundreds, and finally thousands and tens of thousands of workers. This united front of the working class together with the middle classes of town and country will lead the first broad offensive against fascism. It will shake the Hitler regime and pave the way for the great combat between freedom and terror, between war and peace, the way to the overthrow of the Hitler regime.

Edgar Andre

By R. HAMMER

THE trial of Edgar Andre, which lasted almost ten weeks, ended in Hamburg on July 10. Edgar Andre, one of the most popular leaders of the workers of Hamburg, was sentenced to death for "attempts to overthrow the existing order" and for "being an accessory to murder and for attempted murder".

Since Hitler came to power, twelve anti-fascists have been executed in Hamburg alone for their political opinions. The number of anti-fascists secretly murdered in the Hamburg dungeons in a single year of the fascist dictatorship is ten times greater. Unless we are able by a broad protest movement to save his life, Edgar Andre is threatened with the fate of Feite Schulze and August Luetgens.

* * *

The parents of Edgar Andre were small handicraftsmen. He was born in Aachen in 1896, and grew up there near the borders of Holland and Belgium. Directly from the school desk, Edgar got work on a building job, where he learned the trade of builder.

In Brussels, where Andre was taken after the death of his parents, he joined the Socialist Youth League. He was not a Party member before the war, but he was always closely in contact with his comrades. When war broke out, Andre gave up the trowel for the gun. He experienced all the horrors of the World War, and shortly before the end of the war was taken prisoner by the French. In the war prisoners' camp he was soon chosen as prisoners' representative. He used his knowledge of foreign languages, which he had obtained due to living on the border, to try to help his comrades to improve their lot. After his release, Edgar Andre became a member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. At the same time he began to take an active part in the building workers' trade union. But the path to systematic work at his own trade was closed to Edgar Andre. He was unemployed.

There was not a single demonstration of the Hamburg unemployed in which he did not participate, and he soon became one of the most energetic leaders of the unemployed movement. He was an attractive and passionate public speaker, always ready to help a comrade. At this time Edgar Andre was, as we have said, a member of the Social-Democratic Party. But the speeches he made, the demands he advanced, frequently did not coincide with the spirit of the speeches and demands of the leading officials of his party. He had his own ideas, a critical approach and on more than one occasion skirmishes took place between him and the officials of the Social-Democratic Party. He then understood that the policy of the party leadership did not correspond to the interests of the working class, and so in 1922 he left the Social-Democratic Party and joined the Communist Party. Shortly before this,

58,000 unemployed Hamburg workers had elected him as the chairman of the Unemployed Council.

The subsequent years were years of self-sacrificing work for the cause of the revolutionary proletariat. The election of Hindenburg as president of the republic was a symptom of the strengthening of the counter-revolutionary forces in Germany. The hirelings of counter-revolution, who were eagerly preparing for a new drive against the working class, mustered their forces in the fascist associations, the Reichswehr and its illegal auxiliary organizations.

At this time, in 1925, the Union of Red Front Fighters was formed. From the little groups of Communist "stewards"* and "workers' detachments", formed for defensive purposes, a big disciplined anti-fascist fighting organization soon grew up based on the working masses. The Union of Red Front Fighters soon became not only the biggest proletarian front fighters' organization in Europe, it became at the same time a very strong center of defense against all the terrorist attempts of the fascists. Tens of thousands of non-Party workers belonged to it.

When the Union of Red Front Fighters was formed in 1925 in the Maritime Province, Edgar Andre's comrades entrusted him with the leadership of the local front fighters' organization. Soon the Red Front Fighters in the Hamburg District became the pride of the anti-fascist proletariat. So long as they existed legally, all the terrorist attacks of the National-Socialist bands met with rapid and determined resistance. The Union of Red Front Fighters and its supplementary organizations—the "Red Fleet" and the "Red Youngstorm"—gave promise of becoming a center of attraction for all active anti-fascists. But in 1929 the Social-Democratic minister Severing prohibited this organization, and thus performed one of his many friendly services for the fascists.

In 1928 Andre worked in the trade union movement, mainly in the village of Kukshafen. In this locality, where the Party had hitherto done little work, Edgar Andre carried on successful activity and played the leading part in some of the economic struggles of the sailors and fishermen from the fishing fleet of Kukshafen. In spite of this, the fascist indictment says: "Andre was leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters in the Maritime Province." This point in the indictment is just as false as the attempt to describe the actions of the Hamburg workers in self-defense against the National-Socialist gangs as being the "terroristic activity of the Communists".

Five years ago, before the advent of Hitler to power, the Nazis publicly invited Edgar Andre to speak at one of their meetings. The fascist fighting gangs surrounded the hall in advance with the help of the police and only allowed their fascist supporters to enter. They announced everywhere that the "Red General Andre" would be wiped out. Edgar Andre came to the meeting with a group of sailors and demanded the floor. A rush was immediately made at him, but it was beaten back by his companions, who fought so boldly that the Nazis were forced to abandon the meeting. And it is in this regard that Andre is now charged with "attempted murder".

* Their work was usually to keep order at meetings and demonstrations.

EDGAR ANDRE

Attempts to murder Andre were defeated time after time. On March 15, 1931, he was billed to speak at a public meeting in the Hamburg rural district of Zolenznicker, but something happened to prevent him from going, and two other comrades went in his place. On their way back, they were attacked in a bus by three Nazi bandits. Ernst Heining, a Deputy of the Hamburg parliament, was killed, the murderer shouting as he fired, "There you are, Andre", while Heining's companion was seriously wounded. Adolph Hitler expressed his sympathy for the murderers, one of whom, Bammel, was promoted in 1933 to the post of Chief of Personnel of the Hamburg Wholesale Society, while his confederates became members of the Gestapo (secret police).

In February, 1933, Edgar Andre was carrying on his usual work in Kukshafen. He was preparing for the Reichstag elections which had been fixed for March 5. He was arrested while on this work. He succeeded in escaping and was preparing to go to Hamburg. On March 3 he was arrested in the train on the Hamburg-Wilhelmburg line.

After his arrest and detention in the Hamburg Remand Prison, he was immediately subjected to the strictest isolation. The frightful tortures which he underwent at that time are beyond description. Savage brutes of the worst kind directed the tormenting of our intrepid comrade. Three times after his arrest his death was announced. Thousands of Hamburg workers went to the Wolfsdorf cemetery to look for his grave, wrote protesting slogans on the walls, posted up and distributed leaflets and held organized demonstrations. All this time Andre lay half dead in the hospital of the Hamburg Remand Prison, and when he recovered slightly he was put in solitary confinement and tortured again.

This tall, strong and healthy man, hardened by sport, was reduced to the most pitiable physical conditions. His black hair turned gray, he lost his hearing. *But his spirit did not fall.* Thousands of Hamburg workers went through the hell of the Hamburg Gestapo dungeons, through the concentration camp in Fulsbutel. Although Andre was kept in the strictest solitary confinement, although he was never once allowed the so-called "free hour" in the company of other comrades, they knew of him and gained new courage and strength from him. During the first days of his imprisonment, when he heard that one of the Nazi spies had crept into the Communist Party, he broke through his isolation. Pressing his face to the grating of his room window, he shouted out so loudly that all the prisoners could hear: "Edgar Andre speaking! Willi Kaisert is a spy!" At the risk of his life, he warned his comrades and thus did an invaluable service to the Party. Though he himself was exhausted, tormented and in direct danger of death, he found means to inspire the other prisoners with firmness and courage.

We know of one such case. Once, after a terrible beating up, two prison guards conducted Andre on crutches along the passages of the Hamburg Remand Prison. A number of newly-arrived anti-fascist prisoners stood there, drawn up in a straight line. They had come from the dungeons of the Gestapo and were to be sent back there again. When Andre approached his comrades, he broke away from the guards, limped up to the prisoners and jokingly commanded: "Eyes left!" When they all

obeyed his order, he said: "Thank you, comrades. I see that you have forgotten nothing". The guards dragged Andre along and once again called to mind his nickname "Red General". But the workers knew what Edgar Andre meant by the word "eyes left". Soon all the comrades heard of this event and this fearless behavior of their gallant leader filled them with new strength.

* * *

When Feite Schulze was on trial, Edgar Andre was called into court as a witness. The chairman of the court asked the usual question as to whether he was in any way related to the prisoner.

Andre looked firmly at Feite Schulze and said loudly and passionately: "I became related to him through a great common idea".

In answer to the cross examination of the National-Socialists Andre replied: "I know Feite Schulze as a good fighter and comrade of whom I can only speak well".

He was finally led out of court. On leaving, he turned once more and shouted to the comrade:

"Good-by, Feite, I wish you all the best", in answer to which Feite Schulze stood up and said: "Thank you, Edgar, and the same to you".

Feite Schulze fell under the axe of the executioner. We did not succeed in saving him from the block. The turn came for Andre to appear before the fascist court.

The fascists had postponed the trial for over three years. Andre was too firmly connected with the working people of Hamburg. The workers know that he shared his last crust of bread with his comrades, know how often by his resolute action Andre protected the homes of working class families waiting to be evicted, secured the payment of relief to the unemployed, and helped in the successful conduct of economic struggles. Even among the supporters of the Nazis in Hamburg there are many working people whom Andre saved from the direst want, by his energetic interference. Even among the fascist Storm Troops, Andre's name is uttered with the greatest respect.

This was why they did not want to bring him to trial on a political charge, and why they decided to declare him to be an ordinary criminal, to slander both him and the Communist Party, and to culminate the whole infamous business with the executioner's block.

Although Edgar Andre had nothing in common with the illegal work of the Union of Red Front Fighters, he was charged with deeds which were alleged to have been committed somewhere by members of this organization. The fascists have already wreaked vengeance on Feite Schulze as the leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters. And now they want to put an end to Edgar Andre, as a "district leader" of the Red Front Fighters. According to the well-tried method, all the actions taken in self-defense by the Hamburg workers against the onslaughts of the National-Socialist bandits are described as "terrorist activity of the Communists", and in this regard there cannot be any doubt that *the trial of Edgar Andre is linked up with the plans of the fascists in respect to Ernst Thaelmann.*

* * *

At the very first cross-examination Edgar Andre showed that his spirit was not broken. No matter how strict the selection of the public admitted to the hall, things did not proceed without expressions of sympathy for the prisoner.

The fascist *Hamburger Tageblatt* wrote:

> "We know this figure in a worn suit, with a scarf on his neck, from the street demonstrations of former years. He has now an entirely different appearance, but he still smiles ironically."

The chairman of the court considered it to be proved that the Communist Party of Germany had encouraged and ordered individual terror. Andre objected:

> "The Communist Party and its Central Committee were opposed to individual terror, although this method was used by our enemies, the National-Socialists. We were and remain opponents of individual terror, because the use of it hinders us in mobilizing the masses, and leads to isolation from the masses."

Here the chairman interrupted Andre and told him sharply that "this tone is impermissible for a prisoner". This was repeated every time the accused refuted slanders, and passed from defense to attack. At the very height of the talk about the terrorist methods of the Communists, Andre's question burst like a bomb:

> "Who murdered the deputy Heining—the Communists or the National-Socialists?"

And once more, Chairman Roth interrupted him sharply and angrily:

> "I warn you for the last time. Nothing can be said here that does not appertain to the trial."

But Andre did not let his mouth be closed, and again and again took up the offensive. When there was talk in the court of the clash between the workers and the fascists in Hamburg on September 7, 1930, Andre proved clearly, insistently and convincingly that it was not the Communists but the fascists who had leaped like bandits from ambush and attacked the Communists. The Communist procession was a legal one, but the action of the Nazis was illegal. Their Storm Troops not only attacked the demonstrating Communists but also the police. The police began to shoot. Many workers were slightly injured, several Nazis were wounded, and Dreckman, the leader of the Storm Troops, was killed.

> "Read the newspapers of that time, look at the police records, produce the results of the searches made of Hamburg citizens. You cannot make black into white!"

At the same time, a sworn affidavit was received from abroad. Those who had really been the district leaders of the Union of Red Front Fighters in the Maritime Province after the prohibition of this organization (Erich Krolman and Erich Hoffman) confirmed this testimony. A number of former functionaries of the Union of Red Front Fighters offered to appear personally at the Hamburg court if their safety were guaranteed, and to confirm their written testimony. This testimony coin-

cided with the testimony of Andre. But the court did not take any of this into consideration.

Edgar Andre proved that he had not the slightest connection with the conflict in Gasthacht on January 26, 1931, of which he was accused, and that on this day he was in an entirely different place. On this point also, his statement coincided with the testimony of other witnesses. Nevertheless, the presiding judge, Herr Roth, stated: "An active personality like Andre can do many things at one and the same time."

The charge made against Andre that he participated in the "Bloody Sunday" in Altona is equally unfounded. Andre refuted this accusation, but was again interrupted by Roth who said: "You want to wear the court out with your talk."

In conclusion, even State Attorney Lehman stated that he considered the testimony of the accused to be confirmed on the last point.

Andre did not miss a single chance of branding the fascist regime and its methods, of winning supporters for the Communist Party, and of strengthening the fight spirit of his comrades.

In the first days of the trial he still bore plain signs of the influence of three and a half years of solitary confinement and frightful tortures. But then his strength grew as did his fighting spirit and courage which always distinguished him. He parried the blows of the enemy rapidly and skilfully and shouted to the attorney Lehman at one of the sessions:

> "Why do you beat about the bush as regards the main thing? You know perfectly well that the charges made against me are unfounded. Then say outright what's at the bottom of it all, say that you want to wipe me out for fighting for the cause of the working class, for having stood, and because I shall stand in the future, for the Communist Party to my last drop of blood."

When the trial was already coming to an end, one of the delegations that had come from Liege succeeded in getting permission to interview Andre. The visit, of course, was kept under the strictest watch. And naturally the prisoner was ordered strictly what replies he was to give. But he refused to observe these orders. It was with profound indignation that he spoke of the tortures to which he had been subjected in the Gestapo and called for protests against the torturing of defenseless anti-fascists.

* * *

The call of our brave comrade was heard abroad.

A wide protest movement has begun.

In the Scandinavian countries, in Oslo, Stockholm and other cities there have been protest demonstrations and meetings demanding the release of Thaelmann and Andre. Demands for a safe conduct for those abroad who are prepared to give evidence in Andre's defense poured into the German embassies. A delegation which included two Social-Democratic students was elected in Denmark, headed by Johannsen, Vice-President of the Agricultural Workers' Union. This delegation was sent to Hamburg. Large meetings and demonstrations which all bore the

character of a wide people's front were held in France. The workers in French ports sent delegations to the German embassies. *Le Populaire*, the central organ of the French Socialist Party, wrote the following in its issue of May 15, 1936, about the feelings of the workers:

> "The execution is demanded of Edgar Andre, the man who created the greeting of the clenched fist. Such is the balance sheet of the fierce war of extermination stubbornly waged by Hitler in Germany against the forces of peace and freedom, by means of his bloody dictatorship, veiled with the shameful comedy of a non-existent amnesty. . . .
>
> "Andre was a man to be praised. He was a working class hero, an unswerving trade union fighter. . . . We appeal to all honest people, especially to the trade union officials of all the unions of the General Confederation of Labor, to save this great active member of the trade union movement. Resolutions of protest must be passed everywhere and sent to the German representatives abroad, and to the German government."

Large demonstrations held in all big towns of Spain combined the demand for the unconditional liberation of Ernst Thaelmann with expressions of sympathy for Edgar Andre.

In Belgium there were also big demonstrations. The movement in favor of Edgar Andre was the biggest of all that have taken place in Belgium in defense of the German anti-fascists. Andre, who spent his youth partly in Belgium, receives great sympathy there. *Le Peuple*, the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, in the issue of May 11, 1936, devoted a big article to Andre, in which it praised his courage before the fascist court. The article ended with the following words:

> "The fate of Andre will depend to a considerable degree on the echo the trial arouses abroad."

Like Comrade Dimitroff at Leipzig and like Feite Schulze, Andre demanded that Comrade Thaelmann be called in as a witness.

The court turned down this request. The Nazis did not want to make it possible for the leader of the German working class to speak on the charges made against him and his Party. Even in the gloom of the fascist court the Nazis are afraid to meet the brightest mind of the German working class. They prefer to hide the plans they are concocting against Ernst Thaelmann in the darkness of the fascist dungeons.

Like all anti-fascists who have been brought to trial, Edgar Andre was denied a defending counsel. The "official counsel for the defense", specially appointed for this purpose in the person of fascist lawyers, are not worthy of the name of defending counsel. But in Andre's trial the position was not an easy one for the "official" defending counsel. The whole world knows the proofs of the innocence of the accused In addition, Andre himself refuted the charges against him one after another. Finally, a foreign barrister was present at some of the sessions of the court. In short, the "official defense" was forced to make some sort of a statement. And here is what he said:

> "I object to the prisoner being made responsible for the mur-

der of which he is accused. He can only be charged with attacking the safety of the state. I consider that it has not been proved that Andre, at the time in question, continued to act as a leader of the Union of Red Front Fighters."

All this did not prevent the public prosecutor Lehman from demanding the death sentence on the prisoner.

Then Edgar Andre was given his last word.

The presiding judge warned him in advance that he must not carry on Communist agitation. But we know that Edgar Andre paid no attention to this warning and spoke with all his passion for the cause of his life and the cause of the German anti-fascist movement.

A reporter of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* wrote in his report: "In spite of the warning of the presiding judge, Andre spoke of things having no relation either to the legal proceedings or to the trial in general", but shamefully remained silent about what Andre said.

The *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* stated on July 3 that Andre began his concluding speech with the statement that he was not at all prepared to surrender. Although the presiding judge repeatedly interrupted his speech, Andre repeated the point that the Communist Party is opposed to individual terror as a method of political struggle for reasons of political principle, and that the Communist Party did not employ it. The fascist court ignored his statement. It wants once more to conceal the bloody crimes of the Brown-Shirt murderers, and so it once more is sending to the scaffold one of the best representatives of the German working class. The death sentence did not break the heroic spirit: Edgar Andre indignantly refused to appeal to Hitler for a pardon.

When the public prosecutor demanded the death sentence it caused a considerable increase in the international protest movement. Telegrams of protest were sent from the French and Alsatian trade unions, from the Czechoslovakian office workers' trade union, from the leaders of the Social-Democratic, Communist and Socialist Party organizations in Stockholm.

The death sentence called forth a veritable storm of indignation in all countries. Almost all over Europe, especially in France, Spain and Czechoslovakia, there took place many protest meetings and demonstrations and many workers' organizations handed in protests to the representatives of the "Third Empire". In Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, the demonstration was held before the German Embassy.

The London Congress of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, on the motion of the Swedish delegation, adopted unanimously a resolution protesting against "the attempt to murder Edgar Andre".

May this example of the united front speed on the further struggle in all countries for the life and liberation of Edgar Andre. May all friends of freedom, all the enemies of the fascist warmongers, raise their voices in protest:

Save Andre! Free Thaelmann!

The Struggle Against the Fascists and the Counter-Revolutionaries in Spain

FASCIST reaction, which still holds a strong economic and political position in Spain, is raising its head once again.

The fascist organizations "Falanga Espaniola", led by the son of Primo de Rivera, and the "Rinovacion Espaniola", led by Calvo Sotello, have begun their new attacks, under the leadership of "Action Popular", headed by Gil Robles. The aim of these attacks is to destroy the People's Front, split the republicans away from the working class parties, drive the masses to premature spontaneous action and use this in the interests of the counter-revolution. To achieve these aims, fascist reaction is resorting to two tactics, the first being to intensify its social demagogy, following a course aiming at discrediting the People's Front. To this end they express in words their readiness to support the People's Front on condition that the republicans give up collaboration with the Socialists and Communists.

In a speech at a session of the Cortes (Parliament), held on June 16, Gil Robles openly stated that:

> "There will not be a minute's peace in Spain as long as the People's Front contains such parties and organizations as the Socialist Party (which will soon call fascists all those who do not think the same as Mr. Largo Caballero) and the Communist Party."

The fascist leader was given a fitting reply by Comrade Dolores Ibarruri, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain. Accompanied by the stormy applause of the majority of the Cortes' deputies, she stated that "neither the attacks of reaction nor the more or less masked maneuvers of the enemies of democracy will break down or weaken the confidence of the toiling workers in the People's Front and the government which represents it". And, in concluding her brilliant speech, Comrade Dolores demanded decisive measures by the government against the fascists "if we are to avoid the unrest and disorder prevailing in Spain, it is not sufficient only to lay the responsibility for possible events upon some single person as Calvo Sotello. . . . Those people must be thrown into jail whose hands are still red from the blood of the victims of the October repression, and who with unprecedented cynicism appear here and wish to make the government responsible for events which have not taken place."

In addition to demagogy, fascist reaction is resorting to other methods such as terror and assassination, sabotage, speculation and the deliberate organization of hunger by the landowners refusing to gather the harvest, and finally, an attempt at an armed uprising. Literally not

a day passes without in some town or village some active figure in the People's Front falling at the hands of the fascists. But the "bold" young men of the "Spanish Phalanx" do not limit themselves to this. They are making their way into the Anarchist organizations of the National Confederation of Labor, so as from within to spread hatred and hostility among the workers' organizations and to carry on there their criminal work. It was they who in Malaga provoked the murder of the Communist Municipal Councillor, Comrade Rodrigez, and a number of conflicts between Socialists and Communists, on the one hand, and Anarchists on the other. It was only the interference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that put an end to this fratricidal struggle. As the *Mundo Obrero* wrote, this was the work of the provocateurs and fascist agents operating in the Anarchist organizations.

At the same time the reactionaries are carrying on a campaign to devaluate the peseta, and are organizing the export of capital from the country, and closing down enterprises.

The fascists are attempting to use the wave of economic strikes for their own provocatory ends. Big employers are refusing to take part in arbitration commissions, and drag out strike negotiations, attempting to starve the masses into submission, and organize and direct their dissatisfaction against the government and the People's Front.

The big landlords in the village in particular are making wide use of these tactics. Despite the government decree as to the hiring of unemployed agricultural workers, the landlords refuse to hire them or, if they do, do not pay them wages. This has brought into being a large strike movement in the villages in a number of provinces—Malaga, Seville, Heine, Cordova and others. The big landlords do not stop at anything. They are making use of the fact that the harvest this year is a poor one in order in organized fashion to give rise to hunger in the country, and to this end leave their crops uncultivated and ungathered.

Parallel with this, the fascists were preparing an armed uprising for the 19th of July. The fascists have strong positions among the commanding officers in the army and civil guard. Such facts as the murder of the republican captain Farando for his sympathy to the Socialist Party and People's Front, the events in Alcal de Henares, where the officers of the local garrison refused to subordinate themselves to an order of the government, the events in Jest, where the civil guard shot at unarmed peasants, all give convincing proof of the preparation of the putsch.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the fascists are preparing a military coup d'etat. It is sufficient to mention such facts as the transfer of arms across the border of the province of Navarro, and the speech of Calvo Sotello in the Cortes where he openly stated that military forces will have to be called in if "Spain is to be saved".

The Communist Party of Spain, which is at the present time a big political force (with more than 100,000 members in the first half of June) is rallying the broad masses organized in the People's Front. While supporting the government against the attacks of the fascists

and counter-revolutionaries, the Communist Party at the same time demands the adoption of the most decisive measures against these enemies of the people and the republic. This program of demands was elaborated by Comrade Diaz, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, in his speech in Madrid on June 26, at a meeting organized by the building workers' federation.

In this speech Comrade Diaz quoted numerous facts to show how the big landlords are organizing sabotage in the village, leaving their land untilled, and refusing to gather the harvest, and pointed out that it was necessary to organize the people so as to prevent the loss of a single ear of grain, and that the land belonging to those who are organizing the hunger must be expropriated. Those employers who refuse to carry on negotiations with the workers' organizations must be compelled to do so, while those employers who close down their enterprises must be deprived of them, the government taking charge of them, and operating them jointly with the trade unions. This needs money. Well then, the government should introduce a progressive tax upon the rich, it should establish control over the Bank of Spain—and then there will be money. These are neither Socialist nor Communist measures, Comrade Diaz pointed out, they are measures which must be carried into life to strengthen the republic.

The Communist Party of Spain calls for the vigilance of the broadest masses of the people. It explains that this, the first and most necessary condition for further victories, lies in the extension and consolidation of the People's Front, which must lead the struggle against the fascists and counter-revolutionaries to a victorious end.

* * *

Such was the situation immediately preceding the fascist putsch. A few days prior to the putsch, the fascists killed an officer of the civil guard, Castello, who was known for his anti-fascist leanings. On July 13, Calvo Sotello was found murdered. This was utilized by the fascists for their provocative propaganda against the government and the People's Front.

The Struggle Against the Fascist Putsch

(*Letter From Madrid*)

MILITARY-FASCIST putschists are spreading reports through the radio stations which they have seized, to the effect that the responsibility for the bloody civil war which they have begun lies with the anti-fascist People's Front. This is a lie, a slander and an act of provocation. I am making use of the first opportunity to send you this letter.

We want the whole civilized world to know the truth as to who actually are the criminals responsible for having begun the civil war victory over their reactionary enemies, the masses of the people took up an excessively trustful attitude towards them. How did the leaders of the monarchist fascist bands react to this? They made foul use of this trustfulness, against the people.

In words they declared themselves ready to make their peace with the democratic republic established in Spain, but in actual fact they immediately resorted to economic sabotage and dirty speculation, after the fall of their government.

The financial oligarchy began to transfer their capital abroad, and the foulest maurauders on the Stock Exchange began to operate against the exchange value of the peseta.

The reactionary fascist cliques which were in power for two years brought the economic life of the country to ruin, in their own interests, in Spain.

Who are these people who have now hurled themselves on our people? What are the aims pursued by the organizers of the revolt? What forces stand behind them?

As is well known, the counter-revolutionary and fascist government was driven out of our country by the vote of the people. The anti-fascist People's Front won a victory at the elections to the Cortes held on February 16 this year, in spite of all the threats and demagogic promises of the monarchist militarists and fascist organizations. The country expressed its will clearly and in no uncertain fashion, to the effect that it was against the hated monarchy, against the feudal yoke, against a new fascist enslavement, and for a free and happy, democratic Spain.

Proud in the consciousness of their undoubted moral and political and when after the elections they were driven out, they tried to take their revenge on the country by preventing it in every way from setting the economic life of the country in order.

The big manufacturers demanded the abolition of the measures adopted by the government to lighten the burden of the masses of the people, and threatened that if this were not done they would declare a lockout.

The big landowners, supported by the banking clique, threatened a "strike" and declared that they would not let their fields be cultivated

in the autumn if the government did not give up its land reforms and its defense of the interests of the agricultural workers and peasants.

It was only thanks to the powerful pressure of the overwhelming majority of the population, welded together in the People's Front, that the government did not give way to these threats and desires of the robbers and tricksters.

The government displayed excessive magnanimity towards the reactionary elements who met with complete defeat at the elections. In spite of the warnings and advice given by the workers' organizations, the leaders of the monarchists and fascists were left at liberty, and even continued to occupy some key positions in the army, fleet and the state apparatus.

How did the hangmen of the people reply to this magnanimity? By black betrayal. When they were still in the government, they made use of the entire state apparatus as a machine of violence and terror against the people. But when they were driven out of the government by the vote of the people, they resorted to the weapon of individual terror against the best sons of the people.

Not a single day passed without some active member of the working class movement and the People's Front being killed or wounded by the agents of the counter-revolution. The enemies of the people strove by these terrorist deeds not only physically to wipe out the people whom they hated, but also to create the impression that there was no firmly established order in our country.

The fascists and monarchists transformed the churches and monasteries into stores for their arms, and places of refuge for their terrorist bands, and at the same time provoked the firing of churches and monasteries, while themselves organizing such fires in order to set the religious section of the population against the other section of the population not linked up with the church.

"Beware of provocateurs", was the warning of the workers' organizations, "remember that those who set fire to the churches and the monasteries play into the hands of counter-revolution!"

The agents of the counter-revolution used every possible means to defend the feudal privileges of the landowners and big money-lenders who for centuries had oppressed the peasantry; and at the same time they strove to provoke conflicts between the peasants and the armed forces of the state.

The tactics of the monarchist-fascist counter-revolutionaries were to reduce certain sections of the working people to despair and hopelessness, to force the movement of the people to leave the path of open, organized and conscious mass struggle for the liberation of the whole people, and to provoke the outbreak of civil war in the country.

But the working class of Spain showed the whole world not only their heroic firmness and self-sacrifice, but also their high political maturity and wise determination; they showed themselves to be a force rallying and leading the whole of the population drawn into the movement of the People's Front.

The working class of Spain correctly estimated the degree of the

maturity of the objective conditions, took a sound view of the relation of forces in the country and set before the People's Front those tasks of reorganizing and advancing the country which have fully matured at the present stage of development, and which, therefore, were accepted by the masses of the people as really their own tasks.

Thanks to this high level of class consciousness of the working class, and the profound educational influence exerted by them over the wide masses of their allies, the People's Front did not fall apart, but became steeled under the blows of the fascist counter-revolution.

Against whom have the most exploiting, the most parasitic and most reactionary elements of the propertied classes now raised revolt in Spain? Against anarchy, against fratricidal war—assert the putschists and their international fascist abettors and supporters. This is not true, of course. In our country, after the bloody reactionary government was driven out, a regime of firm democratic order and unity among the people was established, and not of anarchy and fratricidal war.

All honest people understand that the revolt was raised not against non-existing anarchy and fratricidal war, but against the regime of legality and order which bases itself on the undoubted will of the Spanish people whose interests it serves.

What are the putschists trying to achieve? They want to prevent the proletarian dictatorship in Spain, is the lying assertion of the provocateurs. No, they are striving to overthrow the democratic republic established by the people, to destroy the democratic rights and liberties won by the people in a stubborn and unswerving struggle.

What are the means being used by the fascist plotters to achieve the fulfilment of their criminal plans? The method of civil war. The method of letting anarchy loose. The method of unrestrained Hitlerite terror directed against all sections of the population. At all points seized by the fascists bestial punishment is being meted out to those who defend the people, and who belong to all the sections of the population.

But why do the plotters undertake such a desperate adventure as the attempt to overthrow by means of a putsch the democratic republic for which the Spanish people stand so firmly and courageously? Is it true that the democratic republic established in Spain has undermined the capitalist system, expropriated the bourgeoisie, and done away with private property in the means and implements of production?

No, of course not. The Spanish bourgeoisie themselves cannot and do not assert that the People's Front sets itself the task of overthrowing the capitalist system.

The struggle in our country now is not between socialism and capitalism, but between bourgeois democracy and fascism.

What forces can the military fascist putschists count on?

They did not succeed in catching the working class unawares, the most class-conscious and far-sighted of whom never ceased to expose the plot being prepared long before the putsch took place.

They did not succeed in introducing discord into the ranks of the People's Front, the solidarity of whose ranks is growing in the face of the offensive of our common foul enemy.

The main core of the counter-revolutionary forces is the Foreign Legion from Morocco, composed of the dregs of all nations. These troops are specially corrupted by the reactionaries in order to suppress the liberation movement both in the colonies and in the home country.

The deluded Moroccans swooped down on the coastal regions of Spain as foreign conquerors. Behind them, openly or secretly, there stand the fascist forces of other countries, interested in the national enslavement of Spain.

It is as in a dirty and bloody *bloc* that the monarchist counter-revolutionaries of Spain, the agents of Hitler operating in Spanish and also French Morocco, the fascist plotters in France and the most reactionary elements of British imperialism have mingled their forces in the Spanish military putsch.

Hitler is directly guiding the putschist generals. We are well aware that General Sanjurjo, who was intended by the insurgents to be dictator, was Hitler's guest after his flight from Spain. Can the German fascists and the Spanish putschists refute the fact that Sanjurjo spent a number of months in Berlin in the Kaiserhof Hotel reserved for Hitler's guests?

After the plan of the putsch was drawn up Sanjurjo was sent to Portugal where the fascists prepared themselves for the movement of their armed forces. It was only by chance that Sanjurjo perished in an accident to the airplane which was to have brought him from Portugal to the place where the active forces of the insurgents were situated on Spanish territory.

The agents of German fascism, who are lording it in Spanish Morocco, organized the supply of munitious brought from Germany for the putschists. They are now spreading the network of their provocative intrigues in French Morocco as well.

We have irrefutable evidence that the threads of the putsch also lead to the French Hitlerites who are brazenly and openly taking under their wing the revolt organized by Franco, Mola and other counter-revolutionary generals. We hope that public opinion in the great French republic will expose the foul picture of the part played by the French fascists in the plot against our country.

The reactionary wing of the British imperialists is striving to place Spain in a position of dependence similar to that in which it has placed Portugal. The extreme reactionaries in England would like their obedient agents, operating not in the interests of the Spanish people but at the dictates of the "City" of London, to have their seats in the Spanish government.

We openly say to the English people, who without doubt sympathize with our struggle in defense of democracy against fascism, that the movement of British warships close to our coastline is a source of serious anxiety to us.

As is well known, the British Government did not send any of its ships here when the Leroux-Gil Robles government suppressed working class Asturias in October, 1934. The fact that these ships have appeared near the north coast of Spain at the present time coincides with the

transfer of the armed troops of the insurgents to these regions. And this is no simple accident. The operations of the putschists show that they consider their communication lines secured by British warships. We have every ground for fearing that the fascist countries, Germany and possibly Italy, will base themselves on the British tactics, and send their warships as well to our coast on one excuse or another. This will mean direct support to the insurgents.

The putschists who are attempting to seize the regions bordering on Portugal are counting on their allies in Portugal itself. But the ruling parties in Portugal do nothing without instructions or the silent endorsement of British imperialism.

The support of the British reactionaries is not only felt in those places where the insurgents are preparing to make an assault. This support renders secure, in good time, those points which the insurgents will have to make for after their defeat.

The international instigators thus tell the organizers of the putsch not to be afraid of the outcome of their adventure, for they will in any case be secured the possibility of flight in the event of defeat.

International fascism in alliance with monarchist reaction—these are the forces waging bloody civil war against the People's Front in Spain. In defending their democratic liberties and their national independence against the monarchy and fascism, the Spanish people are defending the cause of democracy and liberty against the forces of international reaction, in the interests of all peoples.

We have no doubt in our victory. No forces will be in a position to deprive the Spanish people of what they have won, as long as they act in a united, wide and unshakable People's Front.

We are certain that the People's Front in our country will not depart from the principle of the defense of the republic and democracy. It will thereby rally the whole of the population still more closely for the struggle against fascism.

We have occupied the premises of the fascist organizations and in particular of the fascist newspapers. But this does not mean that we are confiscating capitalist property, as the enemies of the People's Front try to picture it. No, in handing over the premises and printing works of fascists to the workers' organizations, we are returning to the people the property of the enemies of democratic liberty and of the traitors to the people, who have entered into an arrangement with international reaction against our country.

The Spanish working class detachments are in the front ranks of the republican army against fascism, and in the struggle for liberty. The working class is firmly aware that nobody will drive it from this path, that without leaping ahead, without being led away by its victories, and in close alliance with all the parties of the People's Front, it will win a decisive victory over the dark forces of Spanish fascism.

How the Program of the People's Front Is Being Fulfilled in France

AT THE last Congress of the Socialist Party Leon Blum stated that:

> "The program of the government will be exactly the same as the program of the People's Front. And we give our solemn promise to the country that we will put it into life."

After the formation of the government, led by the Socialist Party, the government declaration which was read in the Chamber of Deputies stated:

> "The program of the government is the common program signed by all the parties of the majority. The only task which stands before the government is to turn this program into deeds. These deeds will follow each other in quick succession."

The government declaration provided for the carrying into life of the following basic measures which are recorded in the program of the Peoples's Front:

1. The introduction of compulsory collective wage agreements and holidays with pay for the workers;
2. The introduction of the 40-hour working week, resulting in the curtailment of unemployment;
3. The drawing up of extensive plans for public works, and the allocation of the necessary funds;
4. The nationalization of the war industries;
5. The review of the extraordinary decrees of Doumergue-Laval;
6. The raising of the prices of the most important agricultural products, which fell during the economic crisis, to their former level (grain, wine, meat, milk);
7. The alteration of the statutes of the French Bank so as to assure that the national interests predominate in the management of this bank;
8. The disbanding and disarming of the fascist leagues;
9. In the field of foreign policy—international collaboration of France, within the framework of the League of Nations, in support of peace on the basis of collective security and the indivisibility of peace; the extension of the system of mutual assistance pacts open to all, after the fashion of the Franco-Soviet Pact.

A few days after the government declaration was announced, three bills were introduced for discussion in the House of Deputies, and were adopted by a majority vote:

1. Regarding the conclusion of collective agreements;
2. Regarding annual fortnightly holidays with pay, and
3. Regarding the establishment of the 40-hour working week.

The powerful strike wave which spread over the entire country in

the first half of June and involved about one and a half million workers showed the necessity of urgently carrying these measures into life.

The next important measure was the decree signed on June 18 by the President of the Republic regarding the disbandment of the fascist leagues. According to the decree, the following four organizations were to be disbanded: Franciste, Solidarité Francaise, Jeunesses Patriots and the Croix de Feu.

On June 28 the Chamber of Deputies ratified a draft bill directed against the speculators and organizers of financial sabotage, and which had provided for penalties for the refusal to pay taxes, and the illegal transfer of capital abroad. At the same time, on the proposal of the Minister of Finance, the cabinet decided to place before the Chamber of Deputies a draft law repealing the Extraordinary Decrees of Laval which hit the state and municipal employees particularly hard. This bill returns to the employees about 1,300,000,000 francs which were taken away from them by the Extraordinary Decrees. Besides this, a draft bill to reorganize the Bank of France, which is really in the hands of 200 of the largest shareholders, has been placed before the President of the Republic for ratification. The first steps in this direction have already been taken. The director of the French Bank, Tanevy, who used secret funds to subsidize a campaign directed against the People's Front, has been dismissed.

At the end of June the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on two more of the most important questions of the program of the People's Front; namely, on the nationalization of the war industry, and on the allocation for four years of 24,000,000,000 francs to be used for public works. The government has accepted and introduced for discussion in the Chamber of Deputies a number of other bills to lighten the burden of taxation which falls on ex-servicemen, to extend the possibilities for young people to receive work, regarding an amnesty, etc. It should be noted that the former chief of the Paris police, the patron of the fascist leagues, the vehement enemy of the People's Front, Chiappe, has been deprived of his parliamentary mandate after a check-up of the ballot papers.

These measures of the government in carrying out the program of the People's Front were strengthened by the action of the people, and were opposed by the big bourgeoisie and the fascist reactionaries.

The reactionary bourgeoisie attempted to picture the strikes which were accompanied by occupation of the factories as the revolutionary seizure of the factories and as the beginning of revolution.

The *Bulletin Quotidien,* the organ of the Committee of Heavy Industry wrote that on June 12:

> "Paris and part of France is at the present time witness to the partial beginning of revolution, patiently prepared by the Communist Party."

The aim of all this was to frighten the petty bourgeoisie and to split the People's Front.

These attempts did not succeed. The followers of the People's Front pointed out (as was also explained by Leon Blum in his speech at the

Congress of the Socialist Party of France) that the workers did not seize but only occupied their places of work in order to prevent a lock-out, to which the employers could very easily resort, at a time of extensive unemployment.

Besides this, the organized struggle of the masses of the people is the best guarantee that the program of the People's Front will be carried into life.

True, the campaign of the enemies of the people found a response among the reactionary elements of the Radical Party and particularly in the pages of the newspaper *Republique*, where the campaign against the Communist Party took on the form of sowing dissension in the Radical Party and causing a split in the People's Front.

In answer to this, Comrade Duclos, Secretary of the Communist Party, wrote in his article, "The Radicals Are Right," that:

> "The enemies of the people will not stop before anything in their efforts to split the People's Front, thanks to which it has proved impossible to crush freedom in our country as has been done in other countries."

And further, answering the threats of Taittinger (who threatened with a Vendee) Comrade Duclos ended:

> "The Radicals are right when they say that the strength and importance of their party are in the closest degree connected with the policy of the People's Front. . . .
>
> "It is understandable that this is a source of alarm to the enemies of the people, but it is their misfortune that their maneuvers were and will continue to be without results."

This prophecy proved correct. This campaign of the *Republique* received the proper rebuff in the ranks of the Radical Party. The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Radical Party which took place on July 2 sharply condemned the position of the *Republique* and its political leader, Emile Roche. Speaking in the discussion, the Radical Albert Bayet emphasized the point that since the formation of the People's Front the actions of the Communists have been absolutely loyal, and declared in conclusion: "Be careful! If the People's Front is split, reaction will be terrible."

The decree to disband the fascist organizations called forth the feverish opposition of the fascists. The leaders of fascist organizations began to organize protest demonstrations, and openly stated that they would not stop at anything in order to hinder their disbandment. On July 1, during the discussion of this question in the Chamber of Deputies, the Right reactionary Deputy Vall, the mouthpiece of the Croix de Feu, openly made the threat that it sometimes happens that "uprising is a sacred task". And Taittinger, the leader of the Jeunesses Patriotes ("Patriotic Youth"), threatened the government with the words: "Let the government be careful! Those measures which it is adopting today may one fine day be turned against those who are supporting it."

The industrialists and fascists did not stop at this. The General

Confederation of Industries published a statement as to the serious consequences resulting from the wage increases to the financial stabilization of industry and of the whole of French economy. The chairman of the food syndicate, Garrange, stated that the wage increases would lead to an increase in the cost of food. Speculators in the markets began to use the delay of food deliveries in order to raise prices.

The government replied to this by counter measures. Within a short period of time, more than two hundred charges for price increases were drawn up and handed over to the public prosecutor.

At the same time the reactionaries and big industrialists were attempting to bring about the devaluation of the franc in another way in order to reduce the wage increases won by the workers.

In reply to the demand for devaluation Blum stated that the government would not agree to it, but would attempt to solve the crisis by increasing the purchasing power of the population. And the Minister of Finance, the Socialist Vincent Oriol, stated in his speech to the Chamber of Deputies on June 19 that:

> "I refuse to devaluate the franc, which would only play into the hands of the speculators! I ask even those who yesterday were supporters of devaluation to join with us at the present time in fighting against the maneuvers which are attempting to make out of each Frenchman a pawn against the franc."

The Communist Party and its parliamentary group are giving support to the Leon Blum Government in all measures which they are carrying out to operate the program of the People's Front.

Immediately after the formation of the government, after the government declaration was read, Comrade Duclos, in the name of the Communist group, stated in the Chamber of Deputies:

> "We will give you our votes, but outside these walls there are the entire people who want their lawfully expressed desires to be respected. With these people, splendid in their belief and farsightedness, it is possible to overcome all obstacles. That is why I am sure that the Committees of the People's Front, which have developed out of the creative initiative of the toiling masses, will not only not hinder the work of the government but will assist it in carrying out the program of the People's Front into life.
>
> "We Communists, whose aim it is to assure the power of the toilers in town and country, we who are striving to set up the French Republic of Soviets, will, with all our strength, assist in the operation of this program. Solid more than at any other time with the parties of the People's Front, we extend our brotherly hand to the Catholic working people and to those who hoped to find the satisfaction of their thirst for justice in the Croix de Feu of Count de la Rocque, the offspring and continuator of the emigrants of Coblentz.* We desire unity in order to save our country from the tyranny of money and create a free, strong and happy France, which the people of France wish to establish together with us and which we shall establish together with them."

* The counter-revolutionaries of 1793.

The Communist group in parliament is actively participating in all commissions and in the drafting of bills and is introducing its own bills. For instance, the Communist group adopted a decision to introduce a number of bills which have in view the introduction of a so-called "tax passport" (the aim of this measure is to carry out a more effective struggle against the sharp practices of the large taxpayers), the taxation of the big capitalists, a review of the rates for the renting of land, allocation of a credit of 1,000,000,000 for the development of sport, the establishment of a national fund for the struggle against unemployment, a bill for an amnesty, etc.

The Communist Party calls on the masses of people to be vigilant, and emphasizes that the danger of a fascist coup d'etat is increasing, that the fascist bands are not at all thinking of laying down their arms. On the contrary, as a result of the successes of the People's Front, as a result of the difficulties being undergone by fascism, its aggressiveness is growing and acts of provocation are on the increase. The fascists are attempting in their criminal work to base themselves upon the reactionary elements inside the parties of the People's Front, are attempting to find supporters in the state apparatus, etc.

It depends upon the vigilance of the masses, upon the solidarity in the ranks of the People's Front and on its ability to carry on the struggle, upon timely and decisive action by the government against the fascists whether we shall succeed in destroying in embryo the plots of the fascists who are attempting to do away with the democratic regime and freedom in France.

The organized struggle of the masses who are united in the People's Front against the fascists is the guarantee that the program of the People's Front will be victoriously fulfilled. And this is the main task at the present time.

The Development of the Movement for the International Peace Congress

THE month of September will see the opening of the International Congress of the Struggle for Peace against the chief instigators of war on the world arena, against German fascism and the fascist military junta in Japan, and against all the forces of reaction in every country, which are engaged directly or indirectly in helping the organizers of a new imperialist blood bath.

With every day that passes there is an increase in the number of organizations of the most varied sections of the population, the number of outstanding statesmen and men of science who are joining in the movement to prepare this world congress.

Last year in England a plebiscite showed 11,000,000 votes for collective security. At the present time the League of Nations' Union with 400,000 members, a number of pacifist organizations, numerous women's organizations, and prominent party, trade union and cooperative leaders have declared in favor of the Congress. On the National Committee in Great Britain there are, among others, Lord Cecil, Walkden, member of the General Council of the British trade unions and Secretary of the Railway Clerk's Association, Noel Baker of the Labor Party, Corbett-Ashby, former representative of Great Britain in the League of Nations, Sir Norman Angell, Miss Jones, representing teachers' organizations, Mrs. Ormerod of the International Association of High School Teachers, and others.

The T.U.C., however, continues as hitherto to stand aloof from the movement for the Peace Congress, and this adds all the more importance to the first decisions of the Scottish trade union organizations (for example, the Glasgow Trades Council, which is next in strength to the London T.C.) to send a delegation to Geneva. The trade unions of Birmingham not long ago adopted a resolution to organize public meetings for peace. At the British National Peace Congress held at Leeds on June 28, there was also in evidence a strong desire for close collaboration with the workers' organizations engaged in struggle against the National Government and against the British "pacifist" politicians, who are supporting Hitler under the guise of peace.

In France the movement embraces all the organizations of the People's Front, the youth movement alone accounting for 34 organizations, including those of the Right. Active in the French National Committee are Jouhaux and Rachamond from the C.G.T.; Paul Faure and Grumbsch of the Socialist Party; Marcel Cachin of the Communist Party, a Radical Socialist member of Blum's Cabinet, Pierre Cot, Chairman of the French Committee of the Movement for Peace, Edouard Herriot, speaker of the French Chamber; the deputies Champetier de

Ribes, Chairman of the Party of People's Democrats, Pastor Jezignuell and others. August 2 has been designated a day of struggle for peace, when, by the way, Leon Blum will speak over the radio. In France this movement has embraced much wider masses than in England, mostly the members of the workers' organizations. Not long ago the Congress of the Paris Metal Workers' Union adopted a decision to take part in the Congress. Mention should be made of the tremendous international meeting in Paris attended by tens of thousands of people, and where Lord Cecil of the Initiatory Committee, and Comrade Schvernik on behalf of the Soviet trade unions spoke about the World Congress. An example of the way the masses are actively participating in the movement for peace is provided by the workers of Clichy, who have decided to hold regular meetings to discuss means of strengthening the struggle for peace. The Central Council of the Consumers' Cooperative Societies has also unanimously agreed to take part in the Congress.

In Belgium a committee has been established to prepare the International Peace Congress which has representatives of the Socialist Party among its members (including De Brouckère, President of the Second International, Huysman, Dr. Martaux and others), liberal leaders like Jaspar, prominent trade union men, officials of the ex-service men's association, and of young people's and women's organizations, etc.

In Czechoslovakia the manifesto of the National Committee was signed by organizations numbering 3,000,000 members. Of great importance is the participation of all the workers' parties and trade unions of all the big democratic parties, Catholic and Protestant organizations, the peasant youth, etc. Benes, Chairman of the Republic, and Hodza on their part are also supporting the movement. The "Sokol" sports society (1,000,000 members) is actively participating in the movement.

In Spain the organizations of the People's Front speak in favor of the Congress of Struggle for Peace. Manuel Azana, President of the Spanish Republic, is supporting the movement. Information received shows that wide sections of the Spanish peasantry are discussing questions connected with the International Congress and its significance.

There are national committees in thirty-three countries, besides those already named, in the U.S.A., Switzerland, Holland, in the Scandinavian countries and in some Baltic and Balkan states. There will be a delegate at the Congress from the Rumanian Peasant Party and also from the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which received 500,000 votes at the last elections. Lunz, Vice-President of the Rumanian Peasant Party, has proposed to call a special Peasant's Congress during the time the International Congress of the Struggle for Peace is in session. Statements of agreement to take active part in the work have been made recently by the Indian National Congress, Australia, South Africa, Social-Democratic and the Liberal leaders in Hungary and Finland, and leaders of the Polish Peasant's organizations. In Austria also a committee has been formed and a speech has been made over the radio on the movement for peace. In Jugoslavia numerous youth organizations of

Belgrade and Zagreb are taking part in the preparations for the Congress.

Of great importance for the establishment of international united working class action in the struggle for peace and for the development of a mass movement around the Brussels Congress is the manifesto addressed "To all the organized forces of the trade unions", signed by outstanding trade union men such as: Schvernik (U.S.S.R.); Jouhaux and Rachamond (French trade unions); Vigne, General Secretary of the Miners' International; Reeve and Adelman, the chief representatives of the American Federation of Labor at the International Labor Bureau, Schürich of the Swiss Federation of trade unions, Krekik of the General Amalgamation of Trade Unions of Jugoslavia, by the representative of the trade union federation of Mexico and others. The General Secretariat of the International of Post Office Workers has agreed to take part in the Congress. The Socialist Workers' Sport International has sent in an application to affiliate to the Congress. The powerful international ex-servicemen's organizations, CIAMAC and FIDAC, numbering 14,000,000 members, have also agreed to take part in the Congress.

The Communists and all supporters of the united fighting front for peace are utilizing the short time remaining before the Congress to get the workers' organizations more active, to establish unity of action of the workers' organizations, to set up committees for peace in the localities, and run elections of delegates to the International Congress of Peace among the broadest masses of the population. The refusal of the Executive Committee of the Second International to take part in the Congress and the similar attitude of the International Federation of Trade Unions will not be able to hinder the working masses organized in the united front from marching under the banner of the defense of peace, under the banner of the growing international front of the friends of peace.

The Strike and Achievements of the United Front in Belgium

A POWERFUL wave of strikes has passed over Belgium: The docker's strike in Antwerp, following it the miners' general strike, joined by the metal, and later the textile, tram and building workers, and workers of other branches of industry. In the course of a few days the strike spread over almost the entire country. From the 14th to the 21st of June about 500,000 people were on strike.

The demands of the strikers were a minimum wage of 32 francs per day, the 40-hour working week, a fortnight's holiday with pay, and the right of the workers to organize into trade unions.

The government tried all means to disrupt the strike. It sent troops and the gendarmerie to the industrial centers. In Borinage, Liege, Ghent and numerous other localities, troops occupied important strategic points while armored cars paraded the streets. In a whole number of places clashes took place between workers and gendarmerie resulting in casualties. Thus, in Carengon (Borinage), the workers set up barricades and resisted the gendarmerie sent against them. When Vandervelde arrived in the city with a view to quieting down the workers, and attempted to speak at a strikers' meeting, he was met with whistling and shouts: "Let the Socialist Ministers resign."

The strike was led by the Commission of Unions affiliated to the Belgian Labor Party; but from the very beginning of the strike united front bodies began to be set up in the localities which led the struggle. In the call issued by the Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party to the strikers on June 17, conditions which could ensure victory were stated to be the following:

> "The guarantee of victory is iron unity and iron discipline of the working class. To achieve this unity and discipline, which will result in victory, the Communist Party appeals to the working class to immediately achieve the following: agreement among the Socialist, Christian and Liberal trade unions; the organization of joint strike pickets; sessions of municipal councils to be immediately convened in order to organize along with the trade union strike committees the supply of foodstuffs for the strikers' families; a united front between the Socialist and Communist organizations; a people's front embracing workers' organizations and middle classes to unite the working people against the big capitalists."

At the same time, a Communist Party delegation met a delegation of the Bureau of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party in order to examine the proposals regarding united action proposed by the Communist Party.

These proposals of the Communist Party were not adopted by the

representatives of the Belgian Labor Party since in their opinion this question would have to be decided at a meeting of the General Council.

Several days later, when the strike reached its apex, an agreement was reached between the strikers and the employers. At a meeting with the representatives of the strikers the employers agreed to the establishment of a minimum wage, one week's holiday with pay, and the gradual introduction of a 40-hour working week in certain branches of industry.

After this, the trade union commission of the Belgian Labor Party appealed to the masses to call off the strike.

The Communist Party considered it was premature to call off the strike and that the masses could achieve better results.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a special call to the strikers, published in *La Lutte* on June 24, which stated:

> "We Communists are of the opinion that victory will be complete only when the bills regarding the 40-hour week, holidays with pay, a minimum wage and freedom of the trade unions are adopted. We Communists are of the opinion that improvements achieved at certain enterprises are insufficient. We declare to the strikers, with whom we have fought shoulder to shoulder, that we shall operate the decision adopted by the democratic majority. The united front has been hammered out in the joint struggle of the working class; after full victory we will support it."

During discussions in Parliament of the bills regarding the 40-hour week, holidays with pay, and the minimum wages, the Communist Party, as against the proposals of the Socialists, introduced its counter-proposals, which were as follows:

(1) The 40-hour working week for all branches of industry; (2) the retention of the wages paid for the 48-hour week; (3) this law to be operated not later than October 1.

When the voting took place this proposal of the Communist fraction was supported by five Left Socialists: Martaux, Brunfaut, Isabella Blum, Saint and Delbroeck.

Along with the development of the strike movement there grew the movement for the united front. Thus, the Socialist federation in Soignies passed a resolution demanding establishment of the united front. In Brussels numerous demonstrations took place, headed by the Communists and Socialists. In Wasmes, Monchelier and Ougree meetings of the united front were held; in Borinage and Tubid united strike committees were established.

Along with the movement for united action, between the Socialists and Communists, the movement developed for the establishment of a People's Front. In an article in *Le Peuple* of June 22, entitled "The People's Front Is Advancing," there was a report of a meeting in Verviers, at which Socialists, Communists and Democrats spoke. In La Louviere 12,000 attended a meeting of the People's Front.

At meetings in Frammaries and Doux, the Socialist Pierard welcomed the working class united front that had been established and the

policy of the united front, etc., etc. And finally, on June 28, on the initiative of the anti-fascist Intellectuals' Vigilance Committee, a conference was held devoted to the establishment of the People's Front in Belgium. At this conference the Belgian Workers' Party, the Communist Party, trade union organizations, the Liberal young guards and a number of other organizations were represented. Among the prominent Socialist Party workers present at the conference there were the chairman of the Second International, de Brouckere; Balthasaar, Isabella Blum, Martaux, Brunfaut, Pierard; Delvigne, Secretary of the Belgian Labor Party and Comrade Jacquemotte and Relecom from the Communist Party.

The resolution adopted stated that:

> "During the strikes, the workers spontaneously brought the People's Front into being. The Democrats, Liberals, Socialists and Communists, manual and brain workers, as well as members of the middle class joined together and were victorious. A People's Front movement must be created, which aims at preserving and organizing this unity born in the battle.
>
> "It desires to fulfill this task by rallying all the democratic forces around the three principal ideas of bread, peace and freedom.
>
> "In order to achieve this goal the conference with a view to rallying the democratic forces decided to elect an initiatory committee whose task it is to enter into negotiations with the parties, trade unions and cultural organizations, with the already existing groups of the People's Front, and to bring about the unification of the entire forces of the People's Front on a national, district and local scale." (*Drapeau Rouge* of June 4.)

An initiatory committee consisting of 51 people was elected by the conference.

The youth have attained great successes in the sphere of united action and organizational unity. Organizationel unity between the Young Communist League and the Young Socialist League has already been achieved in Vama. At the same time, the united organization continues to belong to both youth organizations on a regional and national scale in order to conduct a struggle for the unity of the youth. The joint actions of the Young Communist and Young Socialist organizations took place in Hestal, in Brussels, Molenbeck, Schaerbeeck and a number of other localities.

The Central Committee of the Y.C.L. addressed a proposal to the leaders of the Young Socialist League to create a united organization of the revolutionary youth. The leaders of the Y.S.L. in a letter of the Secretary of the Central Committee, Godfroid, expressed their agreement to conduct negotiations on this question.

The working people of Belgium learned a lesson from the last elections, which testify to the growing fascist menace.

The movement for the united front is developing and extending in Belgium.

The Movement for Peace—For the People's Front in Great Britain

THE struggle for the preservation of peace is one of the chief tasks facing the People's Front in Britain. This lends particular importance to the National Peace Congress held in Leeds on June 26, 27, 28 and 29. The Congress was organized by the National Peace Councils to which more than 40 national organizations and 30 local Peace Councils are affiliated. The National Council is made up largely of Liberals, individual Labor leaders, prominent authors, and religious leaders, including the Archbishop of York. This body was mainly responsible for the huge Peace Ballot of 11,500,000 last year.

A characteristic feature of this Congress is the extent to which the delegates share their resentment at some of the pro-Hitler utterances of chief speakers like the Liberal Marquis of Lothian and their eager agreement expressed with items in the speeches of Harry Pollitt and Wm. Gallacher M. P. This, together with the pronounced anti-National Government feeling of the Congress, marks a very big step forward compared with last year.

The decisions made by the Congress were summed up in nine points, which are not the decisions of a single-minded organization, but a kind of compromise between conflicting views, including along with a denunciation of "Fascism and Nazism" a plea for redistribution of raw materials, which could only be helpful to Hitler. Again a denunciation of the foreign policy and arms policy of the National Government (itself a big step forward for a body which is punctiliously "non-political") was accompanied by a plea for Britain's splendid isolation, which plays into the hands of the Baldwin policy. Thus the Peace Congress nine points mirror the confusion yet existing within the peace movement in Britain; and show, despite the advance from last year, how much propaganda and agitation must still be carried through before a strong People's Front to carry on the struggle for peace is established. For this purpose the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain issued an appeal to the Peace Congress, which contained the following points as the basis for a popular peace movement against the National Government:

Collective security through the League of Nations and pacts of mutual assistance against an aggressor.

The entry of Britain into such a pact with the Soviet Union and other European states.

The sanctity of treaties.

A general and progressive reduction in armaments.

The nationalization of the armaments industry.

Prohibition of the export of armaments.

Opposition to the rearmament plan.

Opposition to fascist propaganda and to any help to fascist governments.

Political liberty and democracy for the armed forces.

Full support to all the colonial peoples in their struggle for their rights and for their liberation from imperialism.

AFFILIATION

Powerfully aided by the victory of the People's Front, and the subsequent waves of successful strikes in France, the movement in support of the Communist Party's affiliation to the Labor Party is rapidly growing; on July 18 the total of supporting organizations was 1,300. This included the Annual Conferences of several unions, and also the Socialist League, the Scottish Socialist Party and the Fabian Society. Thus, all the national federal constituents of the Labor Party other than the trade unions, *i.e.*, the Socialist bodies that are ideologically the most active sections of the Labor Party, and in this case the Fabian Society, the chief ideological guide for 30 years of the Labor Party, have gone on record for acceptance of a United Front.

At the recent Annual Conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain a resolution was adopted supporting the affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P. Thus, when this question is discussed at the forthcoming Labor Party Conference, more than 500,000 miners' votes will be cast for the affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P.

Alarmed at this growing movement, the Right-wing reformist leaders from mid-June onwards have sought to stem this advance by a counter-attack. This takes two forms:

First, attacks upon the Soviet Union (series of articles by Sir Walter Citrine, being chapters from his recently published anti-Soviet book: *I Search for Truth in Soviet Russia*, published each day in the *Daily Herald*—and replied to each day in the *Daily Worker*—and articles entirely hostile to the new constitution).

Second, direct attacks on the Communist Party were made in the syndicated Labor press. In *Forward*, the Scottish reformist weekly, there were printed articles by Herbert Morrison, Right-wing leader of the London Labor Party, in which he alleges that what divides the Communists from the members of the Labor Party is their different views on "dictatorship and democracy" and that these differences are too fundamental to permit of a united front, either in the shape of affiliation or otherwise. He also revives all the old bogies about "Moscow gold", and finally voices his fear that the Tories would raise a scare against the Labor Party, which would lose "perhaps millions of votes" through "associations with the Communists". To these articles replies from William Gallacher and J. R. Campbell were printed in *Forward* and by Harry Pollitt in the *Daily Worker*.

The Struggle of the Berlin Workers Against the Capitalist Offensive

FASCISM deprived the German working class of the right to have their trade unions and to strike, and placed extraordinary difficulties in the way of the struggle of the workers for bread. But the logic of class struggle cannot at all be overcome, for however much you suppress the class struggle, it will nevertheless break through. The situation in Germany is such now that, on the one hand, especially in the munition works, there are places where a shortage of skilled workers is to be observed and, on the other hand, employers' profits have risen immensely, as is openly recognized by the fascist press. In such conditions it is inevitable that the working class, dissatisfied with the starvation wages forced upon them during the crisis and the years of Hitler's rule, should undertake a more active struggle.

The fascist journalist Nonnenbruch even had to polemize in a number of articles in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* against such moods amongst the working class as the desire to follow the example of the French workers, and to achieve wage increases through strike struggle. This fact testifies to the tremendous impression being made by the successes achieved by the French Peoples Front upon the working peoples of other countries; the example of the French workers finds fertile soil even in present-day Germany.

What form does the protest movement against starvation wages take on in Germany today? As an illustration we shall quote the example of the struggle of one of Berlin's big munition works. In only one of the departments of the works, during six months alone there took place, one after the other, three demonstrations which influenced other departments. The first movement began with a discussion in the department on the question of wages. The workers argued on this question mainly with the "Amtsvalter" (representative) appointed by the "Labor Front", who was finally compelled to call in the aid of a member of the works "Confidence Council". The appearance of this "delegate" in the department led to the calling of a real meeting and, what is more, during working hours. More and more workers left their lathes and gathered around those engaged in the argument. Workers from other departments also began to come in. In short, a real meeting began--a very unusual state of affairs. Under the pressure of the workers the "delegate" promised to talk things over with the management. As a result the hourly wages were increased by from three to seven pfennigs.

The second demonstration in this department took place soon afterwards, its aim being to raise the low wage scales. This time the "delegate" refused to interfere in any way whatsoever in this affair, so as to "punish" the department for its anti-fascist ideas. In so far as the workers of the department did not display any interest in the various

National-Socialist festivals, marches, and "meets", etc., stated the "delegate", he as an official of the National-Socialist Party had no desire to move even a finger for such workers. Let them fend for themselves.

The workers themselves had to think of ways of securing help in their difficult position. First of all, a round robin was sent to the management, but the document remained without results. Then the workers sent a commission of four to enter negotiations with the management. The "Amtsvalter" refused to go with the delegation. Nevertheless, the management accepted the commission, and after long negotiations partial successes were again achieved, wages being raised by from four to nine pfennigs.

A few months later a third incident took place in the same department. The demand raised was that a number of workers who were paid by the hour and who, because of their work, lost a considerable part of their wages, should have their hourly wages replaced by weekly wages. Some workers began to complain about this to the foreman, to the director, and also to the "delegate". The latter had to call a department meeting and come to an arrangement with the management. And this time as well the affair ended with a partial success for the workers.

Such actions lead to the improvement of the material conditions of the workers, although only to a very limited extent, and only affect certain definite, and usually the most important departments. But, in addition, these active demonstrations have another organizational influence: they strengthen the faith of the workers in their own strength. As a result of such demonstrations the most active participants achieve especial respect among the workers, and become actually, even if not formally, the representatives of the department. In some enterprises there were cases when the owners were forced to carry on negotiations, not with the official "delegate", but with the real representatives of the workers.

In another Berlin works a new head foreman was appointed in order to "raise the productivity of labor", and a stop-watch to measure the labor process was again introduced in each department. The workers, however, boycotted the stop-watch of the "rationalizer" by dragging out the conclusion of any work begun as long as possible, and leaving half finished jobs for others to begin. In answer to this, the employers flooded the factory with National-Socialist workers who knew the jobs very well, and in spite of the boycott of the workers introduced the stop-watch system.

Afterwards a new cut in the piece-work rates was announced, which called forth general indignation, displayed in a systematic reduction of the speed at which the work was done. In the endless arguments and discussions the workers exerted strong influence over the National-Socialists and "delegates" sent them. The employers had to resort to a maneuver. A new piece-work rate was announced, but this also called forth general dissatisfaction. The workers refused to do an overtime job which had been arranged beforehand. No matter how much they promised the workers that they would get their demands dealt with during this overtime work, not a single worker remained, despite the fact that the

directors and foremen gathered in the yard to prevent the workers from leaving the factory. This refusal had its effect upon the management. The next day a meeting was called by the management with the "delegates" and influential workers. As a result the new head foreman was removed and the old one brought back. In a speech delivered to the workers he tried to wheedle his way into their good graces by saying:

"You will all receive your money. We want to see happy faces once more. . . ."

The management also made a few gestures only to quiet the workers. For instance, formerly smoking was prohibited in the factory yard. Now they even set down special benches for smokers, and the director himself walks among the smoking workers and asks: "Well, how's things? Have a smoke? Is the tobacco good?" The stop-watch was again introduced and piece-work rates raised.

This example can also serve as a characteristic illustration of fascist demagogy. Side by side with terror, the fascists attempt to break the daily struggle of the working class by the use of demagogy. Nevertheless, the examples quoted, although for the time being they are only isolated cases, show that the French experience is falling upon fertile soil even in Hitler Germany. We can understand why even the *Berliner Berzenzeitung* of July 1 set about so earnestly to explain to the German workers that their living conditions were much better than those of their French comrades, and why it is so tenderly and persistently issuing warnings against "some of the workers who may perhaps now be dreaming of achievements after the example of their French comrades".

The U.S.A. Before the Elections

THE Presidential elections in the U.S.A. will take place on November 3. The most important parties and groups in the United States have already held their national conventions at which Presidential candidates were nominated and programs formulated.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The convention of the Republican Party took place in Cleveland on June 8-14. They nominated Alfred M. Landon for President and Colonel Frank Knox for Vice-President. Despite the attempt to hide its real face by a barrage of fake "liberalism", the Republican Party represents an incipient fascist tendency, and is connected with the pro-Hitler fascist "newspaper king", William Randolph Hearst, and the American Liberty League. The American Liberty League was initiated in 1935 by the biggest and most reactionary financial magnates and included the representatives of both the Republican and Democratic Parties who were for a more decisive and determined offensive against the toiling masses. Already last year they indicated that they will stop at nothing to achieve their reactionary aim and will do their utmost to defeat Roosevelt in 1936, and to place an administration in power that will carry through this program to the full satisfaction of Morgan, du Pont, Mellon, Hearst and company.

Landon, who is governor of the State of Kansas, is a conservative and owns considerable oil interests. From a comparatively obscure position he was brought into the limelight by Hearst's huge propaganda machinery. The running-mate of Landon, Colonel Knox, is a rich Chicago publisher, formerly manager of Hearst's newspaper chain.

The nomination of Landon instead of a well-known reactionary of the type of Hoover was a demagogic gesture to make it possible to represent the Republican Party as being liberalized and independent of the Old Guard. Thus, Senator Borah formulated this as follows:

> "I think the Republican Party has been liberalized. I am satisfied with the strong declaration against private monopolies. . . . Not the least of our victories has been the relegation of the Old Guard to the background and the demolition of its influence in the party's affairs." (*N. Y. American*, June 12, 1936.)

Despite this talk of liberalism and despite the talk even of "social security" and a favorable attitude to labor, the essence of the Republican program can be summed up as an effort to increase capitalist profits; to wipe out social and labor legislation; balance the budget by eliminating unemployment relief, cutting the taxes of the rich, and throwing the tax burden onto the poor by means of sales tax; to weaken popular government by strengthening the Supreme Court; and to develop extreme jingoist nationalist moods amongst the masses, drive toward war under cover of "American isolation" and "neutrality".

The Communist Party, therefore, declared that the central task of the present election campaign must be

> ". . . to defeat the Landon-Hearst-Wall Street ticket, the chief enemy of the liberties, peace and prosperity of the American people. Its victory would carry our country a long way on the road to fascism and war." (Earl Browder.)

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The convention of the Democratic Party took place in Philadelphia, on June 24-28. The bulk of the delegates to the convention (like those of the Republican Party convention), according to the *N. Y. Times* of June 22, was composed mostly of office-holders under federal, state and local Democratic Party administrations. The convention overwhelmingly renominated as its candidates, for President and Vice-President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Garner respectively.

The fascist tendencies in the United States today are without any doubt associated with the opponents of Roosevelt. But from this does not follow that Roosevelt and his program and Party represent a check to the developing fascist danger in the United States. Roosevelt, like his opponents of the Republican Party, is associated with big capital. He is bound within the limits of the reactionary Southern landlord interests which control the solid South, the most important base of the Democratic Party. He is trying to retain a mass following for the Democratic Party by demagogically making certain concessions to the farmers, especially to the rich farmers, to the city middle classes, and some slight concessions to the workers. Roosevelt's "middle" course might be said to be to try and smooth out some of the brazen abuses of capitalism. But, in the last year, especially under pressure from the Liberty League and from Hearst, he has been retreating and has been yielding most to reaction despite the fact that he receives most support from the masses. He comes out against reaction only to the degree that he thinks it necessary to hold labor and the progressive followers from breaking away.

Alfred E. Smith, former Governor of New York and Democratic Party candidate for President in 1928, together with Ely, Colby, Reed and others associated with him in the Liberty League, sent an open message to the convention. This message contained a threat that unless the convention ousted Roosevelt and nominated candidates who would carry out the Liberty League program, "the patriotic voters of all parties will know unhesitatingly to what standard they must rally in order to preserve the America of the great leaders of the past". Just what this "standard" is going to be was revealed by Ely, who has offered to support the Republican candidate, Landon. This message of the reactionaries only helped the Democratic Party in so far as it helped them to deliver a tirade against the Liberty League and the "privileged".

Roosevelt's tactics at the present time aim at playing up to the Left. As a result, Roosevelt won support of decisive sections of the labor movement, even some of those who favored the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. Thus, the United Mine Workers, headed by John L. Lewis, at their convention voted almost unanimously to support Roose-

velt, and contributed to his campaign fund. President Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, for 25 years a member of the Socialist Party, resigned from that party in order to come out in open support of Roosevelt. Only recently there was formed Labor's Non-Partisan League, whose aim is to mobilize the forces of organized labor to support Roosevelt. The League is supported not only by Lewis and Dubinsky but also by the most important unions affiliated to the C.I.O. Many of the outstanding trade union leaders connected with this League recognize the need for the formation of an independent Farmer-Labor Party, but they argue as follows: "Roosevelt in 1936 to defeat reaction."

Despite his gestures to the Left and the considerable support that he receives from the workers and farmers, Roosevelt continues to give in to the pressure of reaction and has not taken up a fight against them on any basic issue, not even on the issue of a constitutional amendment and on the issue of limiting the power of the Supreme Court, which has nullified the entire New Deal program. The program of the Democratic Party is a vague reiteration of some of the New Deal measures and is so formulated as to try to please everybody.

THE UNION PARTY

A very significant development in the election campaign was the emergence, with the most active participation of a number of pro-fascist organizations, of a new party styling itself the "Union Party". The candidates of this party were William Lemke for President, and Thomas O'Brien for Vice-President. Lemke is a Congressman from North Dakota, who in the past was connected with a number of reformist farmers' movements such as the Non-Partisan League, and in the last years he has gained some influence among the farmers, as a result of his proposal of a number of farm measures in Congress, such as the Frazier-Lemke bill, which proposed a temporary moratorium on farmers' debts. O'Brien, unknown outside of Boston, has for a number of years been a lawyer for the railroad brotherhood unions.

The most active initiator of this new party was the fascist Father Coughlin, who was its outstanding political spokesman. Reverend Gerald K. Smith, who is the leader of those remnants of Huey Long's semi-fascist "Share-the-Wealth Movement" who have not made up with Roosevelt, is another backer of this movement. The semi-fascist, anti-Semitic Third Party of Chicago headed by Newton Jenkins and the anti-Negro racketeering ex-Mayor of Chicago, "Big Bill" Thompson, have also lined up with the Lemke ticket.

The Communist Party very correctly pointed out that this party

> ". . . bears all the earmarks of a Hearst-Landon-Liberty League intrigue. Lemke is clearly but a stooge for Landon. His program is a typical half-fascist hodge-podge of radical-sounding phrases without any definite commitment on a single concrete issue before the country." (Earl Browder.)

The role of this party is to attempt to lead to the election of Landon by serving to tip the election in favor of the latter in a number of states that otherwise would clearly not have been Republican.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party held its convention in Cleveland on May 21-25. The convention nominated Norman Thomas for President and James Nelson for Vice-President. Significant at this convention were the struggle against and the defeat of the reactionary Right-wing elements, the so-called "Old Guard", notorious for their anti-Communist, anti-Soviet campaign carried on in conjunction with the fascist Hearst. This unquestionably was a progressive step. But at the same time the convention took a step backward on the question of the united front and it rejected the proposal of the Communists to put up joint Presidential candidates. The S.P. took a most reactionary step in admitting as a body into the Socialist Party the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites.

In estimating the situation in the United States the Socialist Party fails to recognize the Republican Party as the bearer of extreme reaction, but rather accepts it at its face value as it likes to picture itself, as "liberalized", and see no difference between Landon and Roosevelt.

The Socialist Party is approaching this year's election campaign with a rigid sectarian doctrinairism that is tearing it away from the most important mass currents and politics in the country. This position leads them to stand aside even from the Farmer-Labor Party movement.

THE COMMUNIST POSITION IN THE ELECTIONS

The Communist Party at its convention in New York, June 25-28, nominated Earl Browder as its Presidential candidate and James W. Ford as its Vice-Presidential candidate. Comrade Browder is the General Secretary of the C.P. and Comrade Ford is an outstanding Negro Communist, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party. Realizing the acuteness of the fascist danger and the forces behind it, the Communist Party is rallying and organizing the people against reaction, fascism and war and for the building of the people's front. This is taking on the form of wholehearted support of the Farmer-Labor Party movement. Comrade Browder, at the convention, formulated the tasks of the Party in the election campaign as follows:

> "Our campaign will be primarily on behalf of the program of the people's front. At the same time we will carry on a mass campaign of education, on a scale never before attained, to teach the broad millions the meaning of socialism, of the working class revolution, of the full Communist program which is the only final solution of the problems created for the population by a dying capitalist system."

The election demands of the Communist Party are as follows: (1) Put American back to work—provide jobs and a living wage. (2) Provide unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and social security for all. (3) Save the young generation. (4) Free the farmers from debts, unbearable tax burdens and foreclosures. Guarantee the land to those who till the soil. (5) The rich hold the wealth of our country—make the rich pay. (6) Defend and extend democratic and civil liberties. Curb the Supreme Court. (7) Full rights to the Negro people. Death penality for lynchers. (8) Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.

The Offensive of Reaction in Sweden Is the Result of the Sabotage of the United Front

THE Social-Democratic Government of Sweden resigned in the middle of May, a few months prior to the parliamentary elections, its place being taken by a bourgeois government composed of representatives of the Peasant Party, which formerly was friendly to the Social-Democrats.

We are dealing here with a well-prepared offensive by the reactionary forces of Sweden.

The failure of the negotiations between the Hanson Social-Democratic Government and the bourgeois parties on the question of armaments for Sweden was the direct cause of the governmental crisis. The Hanson Government at first agreed to allocate the sum of 120,000,000 kronen for expenditure on armaments instead of 113,000,000, then they raised the figure to 130-135,000,000, later they again raised it to about 140,000,000, and finally they agreed to the figure of 148,000,000 kronen, as demanded by the bourgeoisie. It is true that the Hanson Government put forward the modest condition to their agreement that the bourgeois parties should vote for a slight increase in pensions and an insignificant increase in the tax on large incomes. The demands of the Social-Democrats were, however, sharply turned down by the bourgeois parties, and it is particularly noteworthy that the Peasant Party, which was formerly in a close bloc with the Social-Democrats on all basic questions, including the question of armaments, supported the reactionaries.

After the negotiations had failed, the Social-Democrats announced their readiness to make still larger concessions, by agreeing that neither during the election campaign nor in the future Riksdag would they oppose the project being prepared to increase the funds allocated for armaments. But the bourgeois parties voted solidly against the government proposal to increase pensions, a question which the Social-Democratic Government had made one of confidence.

The Communists proposed to the Hanson Government that it remain in power in order to carry on a struggle against reaction. They made a timely announcement of their readiness, through the united front, to defeat the attacks of the reactionaries and the latter's attempts to overthrow the Social-Democratic Government. At public meetings the Communists rallied the masses for the struggle against the plans of the reactionaries. When the fateful voting took place in the Riksdag, the Communist deputy, Hagbert, *once again called upon the government to remain in power irrespective of the way the voting went, and to secure a majority to the Riksdag at the forthcoming elections by joint action*

of the workers' parties. Nonetheless, the Hanson Government resigned.

Actually, however, it was not at all in need of collaboration with the bourgeois parties, nor of their support. During the parliamentary elections in 1932 when the Social-Democrats were put in power, the Labor Party received an absolute majority of votes (1,247,498 as compared with 1,229,762 votes received by the bourgeois parties). The Social-Democratic Government, in order to fulfil its pre-election promises, could have based itself on the majority of votes received. In the event of meeting with resistance from the bourgeois parties it could have dissolved parliament and, by carrying through the elections under the corresponding slogans, and on the conditions of joint action with the Communist and Socialist Parties, could have secured a majority in parliament, which, after the elections in 1932, it almost had, except for a few seats. However, the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders preferred collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois parties are striving to put forward a united bourgeois bloc as against the split workers' front at the elections. The Communist and Socialist (Chilbum) Parties, which concluded an agreement for joint action in the elections, proposed in a letter dated June 17 to the Social-Democratic Party leadership that joint action by the workers' parties be organized. In the letter it was pointed out that the decision previously made by the Congress of the Social-Democratic Party against the united front was out of date in the present changed situation. The letter pointed to the resolutions passed at hundreds of trade union meetings where the Social-Democratic workers unanimously declared for joint action by the workers' parties.

The reply received from the Social-Democratic leadership shows that they are continuing to adhere to their old position, although, as Prime Minister Hanson publicly admitted, such a policy threatened Social-Democracy with the loss of a number of parliamentary seats. The Social-Democratic leaders are thereby aiming a blow at the possibility of the workers' parties receiving a majority in parliament. But there are those in the leading circles of Social-Democracy who are beginning to understand the danger of such tactics which play into the hands of reaction. It is true that the new Peasants' Party government is not the "national unity" government, which would contain the Conservative and the Right People's Parties, and would carry out the "change of systems", propagated by these parties, and which the extreme reactionaries are striving to bring about. But this does not give us any grounds for being at ease.

The present government will in all probability last only up to the parliamentary elections in autumn. By sabotaging the united front of the working class, the Right Social-Democratic leaders take a great responsibility upon themselves, because this can bring about the triumph of reaction in Sweden, something which is of tremendous importance not only within Sweden itself, but even far beyond the bounds of Scandinavia.

The Congress of the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions

THE Seventh Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions took place in London on July 8-11.

All the delegates to the Congress were handed a written report of the Executive Committee of the Amsterdam International, containing a review of events since the last Congress. It further stated that the events in Austria, Spain and especially the Saar "showed clearly the limits of effective trade union activity", and in particular "cleared up the problem frequently pictured in an extremely utopian form, of the united front and united action with the Communists".

The authors of the report declared against the united front, and asserted that the united front meant "not the strengthening but the weakening of the struggle against fascism".

The question of trade union unity, in spite of the resistance of the reactionary elements, was the central point of discussion at the Congress.

On the very first day when the Congress opened, after the opening remarks of the Chairman, Sir Walter Citrine, a discussion began on the resolution introduced by Hindahl, in the name of the Norwegian trade unions, which have recently joined the Amsterdam International. The resolution proposed by the Norwegian Trade Unions reads as follows:

> "Bearing in mind the efforts made to bring about trade union unity, and in view of the grave international situation, the Norwegian Trade Union Center proposes that the International Federation of Trade Unions take up negotiations with the Trade Union center of the Soviet Union, and the Red International of Labor Unions for trade union concentration or collaboration."

The Dutch Delegate Kupers proposed that the Norwegian resolution be discussed at a closed session of the Commission. Pausal (France) insisted on an open discussion of the resolution, his argument being the tremendous importance of the question of unity. After a lengthy discussion about the order in which the resolution proposed by Hindahl would be discussed, a proposal by Citrine was adopted to the effect that the Norwegian resolution should be dealt with when the question of the relations between the Amsterdam International and the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. would be discussed.

There was no discussion on the first section of the report, and discussion immediately began on the Norwegian proposal in connection with the second part of the E.C.'s report. In his speech, Hindahl pointed out that there was a very strong desire in Norway for international trade union unity, and that formal questions should not stand in the way of unity.

"We are told," said Hindahl, "that peace is indivisible. If we believe in this, we must try to establish a united front with the Soviet trade unions."

Comrade Frachon, speaking in the name of the united French trade unions, supported the proposal made by the Norwegian trade unions.

"Unity in France," he declared, "was brought about, not by virtue of some miracle, but as a result of the fact that it was understood that if the workers do not unite their ranks, they will be beaten all along the line."

And further:

"We must clearly, openly, energetically and without any kind of preconceived ideas whatsoever set about the establishment of international trade union unity. We cannot ignore the strength of Communism. And really, how can we ignore one-sixth of the earth's surface and the workers there?"

Largo Caballero, speaking in the name of the National Council of the United Trade Unions of Spain, also supported the Norwegian proposal, and said:

"The workers of Spain and France have been given their due here. We said that we have smashed fascism. If this is so, it is because we established unity. If you reject unity, the world will not understand how you can praise our victories, yet not endorse our methods. If you turn down the Norwegian resolution, we shall take it to be an indirect condemnation of us."

The delegate from Mexico, Villarsenor, pointed out that the Mexican trade unions were represented in the International for the first time, and, basing himself on the experience of the workers of Mexico, he also spoke in favor of trade union unity.

Jensen of the Danish delegation spoke against the Norwegian resolution.

Apart from these speeches which were devoted to international trade union unity, the resolution of International Trade Union Unity was the subject of a special discussion at the full assembly of the Congress. As a result of the lengthy discussion by the Commission, a resolution was adopted wherein the question of international trade union unity was formulated as follows:

"The Congress decides to open negotiations with the Trade Union Centers of America, Australia, the Far East, the U.S.S.R., and all other non-affiliated trade union centers with a view to establishing a united trade union movement throughout the world."

In his speech regarding the "unity" resolution, Caballero declared that unity can be achieved only if the E.C. of the Amsterdam International really strives to bring about international unity.

In addition to the above-mentioned resolution regarding trade union

unity, the Congress of the Amsterdam International adopted resolutions on "war, disarmament, and fascism", "against fascist terror", "against the crisis", "about planned economy", and about "freedom of the trade unions".

We shall return again to the result of the work of the Amsterdam International and an estimate of the decisions adopted.

"...At this Congress we have raised aloft the banner of trade union unity. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We Communists want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International.

"We know that not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. . . . But we shall carry out this line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our class brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated with the Amsterdam International." (*G. Dimitroff, Speech at the close of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.*)

The Ninth Convention of the Communist Party of the United States

THE Ninth Convention of the C.P.U.S.A. was held on June 24-28 in New York City. Ninety representatives of the press reported the convention. In addition to the representatives of the big New York newspapers there were also those of the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, Federated Press, *The Forward* (Socialist), *The Nation, The New Republic, The Socialist Call,* and there were even some foreign news agencies represented, as Havas News Agency (French), London *Daily Express,* Trans-Radio, Mexican Press, etc.

The Agenda of the Convention was as follows:

1. Opening speech by William Z. Foster.
2. Report of the Central Committee by Earl Browder.
3. Report on work among the youth by Gil Green.
4. Report on training of leading personnel by C. Krumbein.
5. Report on the fight for peace by Robert Minor.
6. Election of Central Committee.
7. Nomination of presidential candidates and adoption of election platform.

There were present 731 delegates of which: 325 were regular delegates with all of the 48 states represented, 136 alternate delegates, 192 fraternal delegates from trade unions and other organizations, 214 fraternal delegates from Communist Party organizations. There were also representatives from the Communist Parties of Canada, Mexico, Cuba and other brother Parties.

Eighty-eight per cent were of proletarian origin, fifteen per cent were Negroes.

Of the delegates 62 per cent are in the Party five years or less; 215 of the delegates have been arrested for activities in the labor movement; 48 per cent of the delegates came over to the Communist Party from other parties.

The Convention was opened by Comrade William Z. Foster, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, who pointed out the historic importance of the Convention. Comrade Earl Browder reported not only on the work accomplished in the period under review, but also outlined the basic tasks facing the Party in the coming period and especially emphasized this year's election campaign. In his speech he gave a thorough analysis of the following questions: (1) the struggle against fascism and for the maintenance of peace; (2) the fascist menace in the U.S.A., the issues and parties in the 1936 elections; (3) the united front and trade union unity; (4) building the Communist Party.

In addition to the reports on the agenda there were a number of outstanding speeches of great importance, such as the speech of Com-

rade Ford on the Negro question, the speech of Comrade Stachel on the trade union movement and speeches of a number of District Organizers who concretized the general report by analyzing the situation and tasks in their particular Districts.

The reports showed the growth of the Party to 40,000 members, of which 15,000 are now in the A. F. of L. In the Young Communist League there are at present 11,000 members. This represents a considerable growth from the last Convention of the Party at which there were about 25,000 members of the Party. Of these only 2,000 were in the A. F. of L. There are in the Party at present about 4,000 Negro Communists, while at the last Convention there were only 944.

In order to facilitate the work of the Convention a number of important commissions were elected. These were: The platform and resolutions commission, trade union and unemployed commission; Negro commission and special commissions on organization, education, women, youth, press and publicity. Of special interest was the work of the trade union and unemployed commission which was attended by 250 delegates, while the commission itself was composed only of 63 delegates. This commission dealt with the struggle for a strong, united American Federation of Labor which requires a concentration of all forces to halt the splitting plans of the Green-Woll-Hutcheson group heading the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Of great interest also was the work of the commission on education which considered the problem of the Workers Schools, notably the experience of the New York Workers School which has an annual enrollment of 10,000 students. Very thorough was the discussion in this connection on the task of educating and raising the theoretical and political level of the entire Party membership.

The entire work of the Convention was carried on in the spirit to make the Communist Party of the U.S.A. a real mass party and an important factor in the political life of the country. The Convention set before the Party the task of smashing the attempt to try by means of federal immigration laws, criminal syndicalism laws and rulings by reactionary judges to endanger the legality of the Party. The leitmotiff of all the reports and speeches was that "Communism is 20th century Americanism".

The final session of the Convention, which was held in the largest hall in New York City, was attended by 40,000 people. At this session the candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated and the election platform adopted. The acceptance speeches of Comrades Browder and Ford were broadcast over a national hook-up.

The Convention sent greetings to Comrade Dimitroff.

On the Eve of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain

DURING the last few months, regional and provincial conferences were held throughout Spain, convened in preparation for the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Spain.

The most outstanding feature of the conferences that have taken place is the unanimity and unity of the entire Party around the Central Committee which, under the leadership of Jose Diaz, is conducting the policy outlined at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern by Comrade Dimitroff. All the conferences were imbued with the will to struggle for the fulfilment of the militant program of the People's Front and, first and foremost, for the establishment of Workers' and Peasants' Alliances as points of support for the People's Front.

The Madrid Party conference, attended by 200 delegates from the city and the surrounding districts, provides a picture of the enormous changes which have taken place in the Party during the last few months. Prior to February 19, 1936, the Madrid Party organization had 1,500 members; in March, 2,947 in Madrid and 512 members in 27 local organizations on the outskirts; by May 1, 5,623 members in Madrid and 1,676 in 46 local organizations on the outskirts. The number of industrial primary organizations increased from 43 to 99 in the period after February. Beginning with May 1, up to the moment when the report was drawn up, 1,300 members, including 500 women, joined the Party.

> "The new Party members", wrote the central organ of the Spanish Communist Party, the *Mundo Obrero*, "who entered the Party after February 16, are all loyal comrades full of enthusiasm, and have complete confidence in the policy of the Party and its leadership. . . . What they lack is Communist training and education."

The creation of new forces must be accompanied by decisive improvements in the methods of Party work. Personal contact must be established with the Party members, political discussion must be organized on a wider scale and more meetings arranged, attended by the lower Party functionaries.

The discussions at the conference showed that the Party organizations realized the victorious advance made on the basis of the policy outlined by the Seventh Congress. At the first meeting of the Party conference, besides the Comintern leaders and Comrades Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri (Pasionaria), Francisco Largo Caballero, leader of the Left Socialists in Spain, was elected to the Honorary Presidium. The Secretary of the Madrid provincial committee, Comrade Antonio, made the political report. The principal problems of the report were the need to consolidate

the victory won and to strengthen the People's Front. As a counterbalance to the erroneous statements of the Anarchists, and the provocative acts of the Trotskyites, the Communist Party is ably and systematically and step by step fighting for new successes. The Communist Party does not confine itself to general propaganda, but proposes concrete democratic decisions. These decisions include: the interference of the state in the activity of the banks, mining companies and railways, measures against those who sabotage the republic and the introduction of an agrarian law regarding the expropriation of the landowners, etc.

The immediate tasks facing the Madrid organization were shown in the report to be the training of the newly accepted Party members, the consolidation of the People's Front, the establishment of popular alliances, the strengthening of the C.G.T., work among the unemployed, aid to the united youth organizations, and the establishment of a real people's militia.

The report on the economic struggles was devoted to the experience of the numerous strikes which took place in the course of the last few months in Madrid. The correct tactics consisted in exhausting all existing means before declaring a strike. The example of the struggle of the Madrid bakers, who in this way achieved the satisfaction of their demands, without declaring a strike, also the recent experience of the French proletariat in this regard, are very significant.

The discussion at the Party conference took on the character of reports dealing with achievements in the work done in various spheres. Particularly noteworthy is the growth of the Communist Party in the rural districts where the difficulties are particularly great, for here the Party has only new forces at its disposal, who as yet receive only very insignificant assistance; while in their own regions these comrades are faced with experienced political workers from the republican parties. The conference subjected the sectarian behavior of the previous provincial committee and all the existing shortcomings in trade union work to severe criticism.

The achievements in the field of the organization of Workers' and Peasants' Alliances are also not entirely satisfactory, if they are contrasted with the increase in the Party's influence. The considerable successes of the last few months did not dazzle the delegates to the conference, and they, with Bolshevik exactness, disclosed the shortcomings in their own organizations and indicated the ways and means to overcome them. One of these ways is increased attention to the questions which are of particular interest to the people of Madrid (the higher cost of transport and electric energy), the importance of which for the consolidation of the People's Front was particularly emphasized.

The presence of the leader of the "Socialist Union" (one of the four Catalonian parties) who, together with the Catalonian Communist Party fought for the establishment of a unified proletarian party, made it possible to raise the question of a unified proletarian party on a wide scale.

In his speech the Catalonian Socialist Comorera stated:

"Four parties—the Socialist Union, the Catalonian Prole-

tarian Party, the Communist Party and the Catalonian Federation of the Socialist Party of Spain—are in very close contact, and I can assure you that in a month's time these four parties will merge into one, on the basis of the statutes of the Third International. This is something for which you are fighting under the leadership of Comrade Jose Diaz.* We want our example to be imitated not only in Spain but throughout the rest of the world. We also want a single trade union international, a single international of workers—the Third International—to be formed."

Comrade Jose Diaz particularly emphasized the importance of this statement and called on the conference to struggle for the realization of the political unity of the proletariat on the basis of conditions put forward by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

* A platform was published in June on the basis of which the unification of these four parties into a single party is being effected.

The Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada

FROM May 30 to June 2 the C.P. of Canada held its Tenth Plenum in the city of Toronto. In addition to the C.C. members, leading comrades from all ten Party District organizations participated. The agenda was: (1) The progress made and the tasks ahead in the fight for the united front; (2) The building of the Communist Party; (3) The *Daily Clarion;* (4) The problems of the young generation and the Young Communist League of Canada. Tim Buck, General Secretary of the C.P. of Canada, delivered a comprehensive report on the first point of the agenda.

The King government—pointed out Comrade Buck—is carrying through a carefully worked-out policy aimed at salvaging capitalist economy at the expense of the common people. Wages are being reduced, unemployment appropriations are being reduced by about 50 per cent although approximately 1,300,000 persons (12½ per cent of the total population) are on relief, the sales tax has been increased from 6 to 8 per cent, while interest and dividend payments in 1935 and in 1936 are higher than they were either in 1928 or 1929.

The Plenum dealt with the foreign policy of the government and called upon the people of Canada to develop powerful independent actions to preserve peace, against the aggressors, in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to compel the King government to declare for the strengthening of the League of Nations as an instrument of peace, for collective action against fascist aggression, for the protection of the small nations threatened by the fascist aggressors and the checking of the British reactionaries and their Canadian friends who wish to tie the Canadian people to the war policies of British imperialism.

The Plenum particularly dealt with the questions of the fight for unity of the Communists and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation members and supporters. A rapid differentiation is taking place within the C.C.F. movement. Some groups in the C.C.F. are for the proposals of the C.P.—to build the C.C.F. into a broad, federated Farmer-Labor Party; others are for the united front only on immediate questions of the day; and finally, a group of Right-wing leaders headed by J. S. Woodsworth is against the united front, carries on anti-unity campaigns, and expelled C.C.F. leaders and members who participated in the united front. Comrade Buck pointed out that the Party is willing to do all in its power to assist the pro-unity elements in the C.C.F.

The decision of the Ninth Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Canada

to merge the revolutionary unions of the Workers' Unity League of Canada with the Trades and Labor Congress (A. F. of L. unions) has, in the main, been carried out satisfactorily. The mergers took place on the basis of a program. Communists and leaders of the W.U.L. unions hold leading posts, and beginnings are being made in several places to push forward the task of organizing the unorganized workers. For the coming September Congress of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the Party set itself the task to help increase the membership from the 200,000 that it now has up to 500,000.

On the second point of the agenda, it was reported that the Party has achieved the task set by the Ninth Plenum and now numbers 10,000 members. The task of reaching 12,500 membership by the Eighth Party Congress in October, 1936, was set. A new decision was made on the organization problem—to establish industrial units of the Party, in those cases where there are not enough to set up enterprise nuclei.

On the third point, the Plenum sharply underscored the fact that, as yet, the labor movement and the Party as a whole do not grasp the significance and possibilities of the *Daily Clarion*. The principal weakness, the Plenum pointed out, was poor circulation methods, and the absence of steady, persistent circulation building. It was decided to achieve the increase of the circulation to 25,000 in the immediate future.

On the fourth point, the Plenum discussed a report on the Y.C.L. and the recent Canadian Youth Congress held on May 23-25, at which there were 456 delegates, representing 343,666 Canadian youth. A Parliamentary bill, embodying the adopted demands and program, was agreed upon and is now being discussed throughout the country, preliminary to being placed before the Federal Parliament. The representation at the Youth Congress was from conservatives, Boards of Trade, churches, liberals, Socialist and Communist youth. The main weaknesses were: insufficient representation from the industrial youth, trade unions, farm youth and French Canadians. The Congress decided to start a drive to send 30 Canadian delegates to the Geneva Congress. The Plenum dealt with two main factors responsible for the lagging in our work among the youth: (1) The Party has not shown a full understanding of the fact that the work of building a youth movement and the struggle for the leadership of the youth of Canada are *the direct task of the Communists;* (2) There is also an insufficient understanding of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the C.I. and the Sixth World Congress of the Y.C.I. on the new type of organization of toiling youth.

The Plenum confirmed the correct general line of the Party, analyzed the main weaknesses and mistakes of this period, calling upon the Party to exercise greater vigilance and alertness in carrying through the correct general line. In the fight against deep-seated sectarianism, considerable progress has been made, but this sectarianism remains the main obstacle to the carrying out of the decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern.

The Plenum decided to call the Eighth National Convention of the Party in October, 1936. Four hundred and fifty to five hundred delegates will be elected. The pre-convention discussion begins on July 1. A special

discussion magazine will be published. The proposed agenda for the Congress is as follows:

(1) The Road Ahead for Canada. (2) Building a New World—Socialism Victorious. (3) The Party of the Working Class. (4) Young Canada's Tomorrow. (5) French Canada Awakens. (6) The *Daily Clarion*—People's Tribune. (7) Reports of Committees and Resolutions. (8) Election of Executive Committee.

The Congress of the London District of the C.P.G.B.

ON JUNE 26-28 there took place the Annual Congress of the London District of the Communist Party of Great Britain, attended by over 500 delegates from the branches in the district, and many guests, members of trade unions and of the Labor Party.

The agenda included a report of work done and tasks arising therefrom, given by Comrade Springhall, a speech on behalf of the C.C. by Comrade J. R. Campbell, as well as a speech of fraternal greetings by a representative of the C.P. of France.

The main attention of the Congress was centered around the "Social Program for London".

This program, introduced to the Congress on behalf of the District Committee by Comrade Ted Bramley, puts forward the demand for the municipal control of London's transport, gas, electricity, police force, distribution of milk and coal, the building within five years of 200,000 new model houses and flats at maximum rents of 10/ per week, and, free secondary education to all London school children between the ages of 11 and 16, with full maintenance grants. Added to these demands is the slogan popularized with such success by the C.P. of France of "making the rich pay".

The enthusiasm with which Comrade Bramley's report was received testifies to the fact that the demands fully correspond to the needs of the working people of London and should become the lever for the development of united front action on a wide scale. Of special importance in this connection was the point brought out in the Congress that the present Labor majority in the London County Council is based on a majority of 40,000 votes, so that any serious advance by the reactionaries or setback to the Labor Party due to disappointment felt by workers at the failure of the Labor Party majority to bring about a radical improvement of their conditions may easily result in the L.C.C. passing into the hands of the open enemies of the working class. This would be a serious blow at the entire working class.

The Congress, accordingly, making its starting point the interests of the working class as a whole, called on all the Party members to develop an energetic struggle for the united front on the basis of the main points in the program, which can be made a platform for joint action at the London L.C.C. elections next March. A united front at the elections will assure the defeat of the reactionaries and the return of a majority composed of Labor and Communist Councilors. Such a result would be a blow at the forces of reaction and would give a further impetus to the establishment of the united front in Britain.

It goes without saying that the struggle for united action around points of this program will go hand in hand with the fight for the

affiliation of the C.P. to the L.P. and will become a strong weapon in achieving the same.

The London comrades are giving this "social program for London" a more than "municipal election" character, and it will undoubtedly be made the subject of wide discussion in trade union branches, factories, Labor Party branches, etc.

The Congress met the reference to the draft of the new Soviet Constitution with tremendous enthusiasm. In their further work the London comrades propose to give the widest publicity to the successes of the Soviet workers and peasants, as registered in the draft of the Soviet Constitution.

The Meeting of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. in June

A SESSION of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International devoted to a discussion on the situation in France was held in June.

At this session of the Presidium Comrade Andre Marty delivered a detailed report about the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France which took place on May 24, 1936. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France discussed the present situation in France and indicated the basic tasks facing the proletariat and the toiling masses of France. The attention of the Party was directed towards the fulfilment of the following basic tasks:

1. The main task in the present situation is to carry out the program of the People's Front, and this task demands first and foremost that the People's Front be preserved and strengthened, that collaboration among the parties and organizations belonging to the People's Front be further developed in the carrying out of its program. It is especially important to consolidate the People's Front among the masses in the localities and enterprises, to establish People's Front committees as the direct expression of the will of the anti-fascist masses, and particularly to entrench firmly the People's Front in the villages.

2. The main guarantee of the preservation and strengthening of the People's Front is the existence of a large mass Communist Party, filled with the consciousness of its obligations and its responsibilities, and capable of turning and directing the proletariat and the toiling people of France along the path of further victories of the People's Front over fascism and reaction. The basic means of consolidating the successes of the Party and of extending them is rapidly to train new forces, to promote them, to make a careful selection of them for the Party leadership, to give daily attention to the ideological training of the membership, to extend the network of various types of Party schools and to train the Party membership in the spirit of an all-round strengthening of discipline in the ranks of the Party.

3. The consolidation of working class unity in all its various forms is the most solid basis for strengthening and consolidating the People's Front. The positive results of the unification of the trade unions are already manifesting themselves in the powerful strike movement, as a result of which the French working class has been able to achieve great successes in raising its standards of living and winning the recognition of the trade unions in the factories. At the same time this movement opens up wide possibilities for organizing the entire working class into the trade unions; this is at present one of the most important tasks facing the Communist Party and all revolutionary workers of France. In this connection, serious attention should also be paid to the task of involving

the broad masses of young people and women into the various mass organizations and People's Front movement.

4. As a result of the successes of the People's Front, the endeavors of the fascist and other reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie to bring about a coup d'etat directed towards the overthrow of the democratic regime in France, are increasing and will continue to do so. The fascist reactionary groups will try to find supporters and allies in the state apparatus, and particularly in the army and the police force. This growing danger of a fascist uprising makes it obligatory on the Party and the entire People's Front to be continually on their guard, to focus the vigilance of the masses against fascism, and to ensure that the government operates effective and timely measures against the fascist organizations.

The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Comintern congratulated the Communist Party of France on the successes achieved up to date, thanks to its loyal and persistent activity in mustering the widest masses of the people for the struggle for bread, peace and freedom by consistently applying the tactics of the united front, and endorsed the basic tasks outlined by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

Agitate for Peace in a New Way!

By M. TAMAR

COMMUNIST propaganda and agitation in the struggle to establish a wide peace front must be adapted to the conditions of each given country. Therefore it is particularly important that the Communists in each country find the necessary language, find new convincing arguments which will penetrate deeply into the consciousness of those who listen to them, and which will enable them to give a simple and correct explanation to the widest possible circles of the working people as to their point of view on the problems of war and peace, to solve all their questions and doubts, and to answer all the arguments of the warmongers and their various cunningly disguised agents.

In this connection, much good can be done by the issuing of popular anti-war literature, of such mass leaflets or pamphlets as would provide examples of correct argumentation—comprehensible to the masses—on the questions connected with the struggle for peace. Unfortunately, however, very little of such literature is as yet available. The various Communist mass anti-war pamphlets—even those published quite recently—do not fully meet the demands put forward by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in connection with Communist agitation and propaganda; these pamphlets are to a greater or lesser degree dry, abstract, schematic, and written without the necessary account being taken of the actual interests and requirements of the masses.

But if you wish for a model of the *new* methods of really mass Communist anti-war propaganda, you can find it in the pamphlets which the British Communist Party has recently begun to publish under a general title of the "Peace Library".

The first of this cheap mass "Library" were the pamphlets *I Accuse Baldwin* by Harry Pollitt, *Peace—But How?*, a workshop talk by J. R. Campbell, *Colonies, Mandates and Peace* by Ben Bradley, and *War Is Terribly Profitable* by Henry Owen. The very fact that the first two pamphlets were written by leading members of the C.P.G.B. deserves attention: it shows what great importance is attributed by the English Communists to the propaganda of the idea of peace among the masses.

The great superiority of the "Peace Library" pamphlets under review, which makes them stand out to advantage as against the numerous pamphlets written on an "international scale" is that they are intended for the English workers, and first and foremost deal with the questions which interest the English workers most of all. Another point is that the publication of a whole series devoted to questions of the struggle for peace enables their authors to analyze popularly and in detail in each pamphlet some one question.

Comrade Pollitt's pamphlet *I Accuse Baldwin* establishes the responsibility of the British government for the war preparations of fascist

Germany. Making use of well-known facts, Comrade Pollitt shows that the entire policy of the British Government, which refused to recognize the right of Weimar Germany to equality in armaments, but which in reality recognized this right as far as concerns Hitler fascist Germany, assisted German fascism to become the chief incendiary of imperialist war in Europe. He patiently disproves the pro-Hitler statements of the *Daily Herald*, basing himself on the protests of local Labor Party organizations and upon a speech of the prominant Labor leader Morrison, who was forced to repudiate the position of his party organ.

In the concluding sections of the pamphlet, headed "Britain, the Decisive Factor" and "Peace Can Be Preserved", Comrade Pollitt enumerates a number of practical tasks which confront the Communists and all the friends of peace in England, namely, the struggle for unity in the working class movement, the organization of independent action by the workers against the manufacture and despatch of war materials intended for fascist Germany, the sending of delegations of international solidarity abroad, and the struggle to prevent any further loans of aid being granted by Britain to fascist Germany, etc. Finally, Comrade Pollitt appeals to the democratic and peaceful feelings of the majority of the British nation, and calls for a mass campaign for the conclusion of a treaty between Britain and the Soviet Union and for the inclusion of Britain in the collective security system.

Comrade Campbell's pamphlet, *Peace—But How?—A Workshop Talk*, is written in an original fashion; it represents a dialogue between workers belonging to different political camps. It is worth while quoting the author's foreword to the pamphlet:

> "Here are some talks on peace. The people talking are Joe (a Communist), Jimmy (I.L.P.), Bill (ex-serviceman), Tom (Conservative when he bothers to vote, which is seldom), Fred (active in League of Nations Union), Arthur (Labor Party), and Jack who is not a member of any political party but does not like 'these dictators'.
>
> "The dialogue does not pretend to imitate the everyday conversation of such workers. It does, however, give real arguments, and answers real difficulties in, let us hope, a clear way. It presupposes a certain knowledge of recent events in Europe, but not too much. I have endeavored to present the case of each protagonist as fairly as possible. If the Communist case is presented as the best, I believe this to be explained not by the bias of the author, but by the nature of the cause."

And it is a fact that the Communist Joe finds convincing replies to the number of "puzzling" questions given to him by his comrades, questions which relate to the tasks and prospects of the struggle for peace, the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., the attitude of the Communists to the League of Nations, the army, etc. Joe speaks in a special way with each one of his companions, and takes account of their feelings. He appeals to the pacifism of Fred, the Socialist feelings of Jimmy and Arthur, and Bill's memories as an ex-serviceman, etc. As an illustration, we shall quote the part of the dialogue wherein the class character of the bourgeois army is shown:

"BILL: But the Red Army?

"JOE: It is not an army for suppressing the working class, but for defending the new socialist system which emancipates the working class from poverty and gives them real freedom. It is an army for a different purpose from ours, which is an army dictated by the capitalist class for capitalist purposes.

"BILL: Fat lot of capitalists I saw in it in 1914-18.

"JOE: Oh yes, you saw that it was a capitalist army all right. I can prove that from what you told me. You were a sergeant, were you not, Bill? How did you get that post?

"BILL: Because I was a corporal in the army before I went on to the reserve in 1912, and when I was called up I soon got my sergeant's stripes.

"JOE: Now, above you in your platoon there was a second lieutenant. He was a much more experienced fellow than you, was he not?

"BILL: Was he, hell! He came straight to us from a public school. I almost had to nurse the blighter, and I kept on nursing blokes like him until I was gassed.

"JOE: Why should chaps like that have been shoved above you?

"TOM: They were better educated, of course.

"BILL: By heavens, they weren't. I had to teach them nearly all they knew about the army.

"JOE: Exactly. From the point of view of military experience Bill knew much more. But the army was a class army, and the officers' posts were reserved for members of the upper classes. Now from the standpoint of military efficiency against a foreign enemy this system is completely nonsensical. But from the point of view of the army's function of suppressing the workers at home it is perfectly understandable. I refuse to vote war credits, therefore, because they will be used to maintain and extend the forces which will be used (1) to fight imperialist wars, (2) to maintain colonial domination, and (3) to suppress the workers at home. That's why I oppose the Government's White Paper."

This extract shows the methods of writing and argumentation used by Comrade Campbell in his pamphlet.

The following publication of the series, a pamphlet by Henry Owen entitled *War Is Terribly Profitable*, analyzes in detail the program of increased armaments, contained in the "White Paper" of the British Government, of March 3, 1936. Comrade Owen uses figures to show that the fulfilment of this program will cause a collosal increase in profits of the biggest armament firms. He disproves the usual assertion of the adherents of war who allege that armaments improve the conditions of the working class by providing work for the unemployed:

> "The re-armament plant" he writes, "is an attack on union conditions, and is coupled with the dilution of labor to provide cheap war materials." (p. 1.)

In conclusion Comrade Owen points out what the friends of peace could do to hinder the realization of the government armaments plan.

First of all—"the fight against war must be a united fight": if the

British workers are to be successful in the struggle against war, they must unite. Comrade Owen formulates the practical tasks of the adversaries of war in their struggle against armaments as follows:

> "Everything that pushes up the cost of executing the plan—wage fights, strikes, etc.—everything that takes money away from war—decent gas masks for all, bigger unemployment benefits, better social services—is a fight against war."

Finally, Ben Bradley's pamphlet explains the position of Communists in regard to colonial wars and colonial oppression, shows that the colonial conquests are profitable not for the workers but for the capitalists, tells of the solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. and popularizes the well-known Marxist-Leninist statement that "a people which enslaves another people forges its own chains. . . ." The only policy which can really stop war and prepare the way for the "merging of nations" is the unity of the working class here and the alliance of British colonies, is the conclusion made by Comrade Bradley.

There are no grounds for doubting that all the above-mentioned pamphlets will be well circulated, and be very successful among the readers of various political currents, and that they will prompt numerous workers to come closer to the Communist Party, and to join the united front in the struggle for peace. The characteristic, positive features of these pamphlets which will ensure their success are the following:

1. They are intended for a definite circle of readers—workers of *one* country, and all the questions in them are put in a concrete form from the angle of the special conditions of the struggle for peace in the given country, and of the interests of the workers of this country.

2. Each pamphlet is devoted to only *one* question or one group of questions, thus rendering it possible to dwell upon each of them with a certain completeness.

3. Despite the variety of their contents—the pamphlets are united by a few leading ideas which are justified in the pamphlets each in its own way (the need for working class unity, for the struggle for peace).

4. They combine simplicity and popularity of language with accuracy of facts.

5. The authors, who are Communists, come forward in all those pamphlets with, let us say, open visors, in no way concealing their Communist point of view, but do not present the reader with ready-made conclusions, but try to *convince* him.

6. Special attention is paid in the pamphlets to a *businesslike* and concrete analysis of the adversary's arguments.

7. All of them contain positive instructions as to *what should be done.*

Thanks to these distinguishing features, the "Peace Library" will help the active workers of the Communist Party and the anti-war organizations to learn how to agitate in a simple and convincing manner in favor of peace, and to create a wide popular fighting front for peace.

It is to be hoped that the initiative of the British Communists will be studied and taken up by other Sections of the Communist International.

The Masters of France—The Feudal Aristocracy in the Banks*

By KRONOS

CAPITALIST economy and political life in France are governed by a handful of monopolists, by an oligarchy of financial magnates. The pressure of these all-powerful masters on the middle classes, and the ruin of the latter through monopoly prices, taxes, speculation and usury, etc., are opening the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie, who longer than all believed in the coming of some sort of government above classes.

The financial oligarchy in France consists of about 200 families, who hold the economic life of the country in their hands, and suck the blood of the people. The slogan of the Communist Party of France, "Unity Against the 200 Families", has become very popular with the French public. The Communist Party of France has succeeded not only in giving concrete form to the ideas of the people concerning the domination of a mere handful of rich people, but also in uniting large sections of the people in the People's Front for the struggle against the robber policy of monopolist capital.

The Socialist Hamon and an anonymous author have made an attempt to give an exhaustive estimate of the 200 Families, who for the most part carry out their plans through intermediaries, managing directors, engineers, officials, politicians, diplomats and journalists, while they themselves remain almost unknown to the general public.

The book under review, *Feudal Aristocracy in the Banks*, is the first part of a comprehensive piece of work, which is to run in four volumes. The second volume will deal with the insurance companies, the railways, transport and the ports, the press, parliament and administrative apparatus; the third volume will deal with the mining industry, metallurgy, textiles, the food industry, and the building industry, and the fourth volume will deal with oil, agriculture, water works, gas, electricity and the colonies.

The authors begin with a description of the banking system. The fusion of industrial capital with banking capital is vividly illustrated by facts from the history of the rise of powerful families. The authors show how various bankers organize a system of control over a network of various enterprises: Credit Lyonnais, for example, which with the help of a capital of 400 million francs leads the most diverse enterprises, the gross capital of which is much more than 100 billion francs! (p. 148). Actually its influence has a much wider orbit as a result of a control over credit institutions, etc.: take the case of the Bank of France, which has the right to issue banknotes, to fix discount rates and regulate all credit on a national scale, and which at first sight seems like something which stands "above the capitalists".

* Augustin Hamon et X.Y.Z. *Les Maitres de la France*, Editions Sociales Internationale. Paris. 12 fr.

The inter-connection of finance capital with that of the state in France has always been very obvious, each new law only strengthened the influence of the banking kings over the state. The handful of financial magnates, who sit in the General Council, dispose of the Bank of France as their own instrument and through it dominate the whole of the economic life of France.

The book is written in a clear style and concisely. Facts are piled on facts. Moreover, when one sees a heading with a dry enumeration of the names and classifications of banks, one gets the impression that this is a banking directory. But one only needs to begin turning over the pages of this book, to have one's interest gripped, from the very first pages. Figures come to life. The reader begins to see clearly how these 200 families rob France. Not only the official lives, but also the domestic environment of this snug company are shown in the book. Here are shown the ways and means by which they gathered their riches, the fierce fight for domination, the compromises, reciprocity in business, and the merging of interests. The reader sees more than fugitive figures, he sees a picture of the whole political, social and family background to this bestial struggle for profits. Here are the Rothschilds, de Wandals, the Schneiders, the Meuflizes, de Vogues, Mailles, Mirabauds and so on, with all their financial, social, church and family connections, with all their suites of parasites, with their hotels, their chateaux, clubs and exclusive circle of friends in high society.

This financial oligarchy constitutes an exclusive caste. Here the reader learns how marriages of convenience join one large fortune with another, or join a fortune to a high title, and diplomatic or political connections, and how this high caste expels its prodigal sons, who break the unwritten law. The reader sees a cavalcade of the higher lights of the landed aristocracy, the military and diplomacy, with their family ties, with the finance capitalists and together with them forming this oligarchy. Of special interest is the part played by the church, which possesses huge capital in its own right. Catholics, Protestants and Jews are united in this caste. It is all the more important at the present time to show this side of the medal, seeing that the wild antics of the Hitlerites on the race question are beginning more or less to penetrate to the fascists of other countries, including the French. The book under review shows another of the chief methods of the financial oligarchy, namely, corruption, and corruption on a huge scale. The book tells not only of the typical scandals caused by the venality of the highly placed government officials, but explains how the high officials of the monopoly companies are recruited from among the high officials of the state apparatus. This indirect form of bribery is one of their chief methods of exerting their influence over the state apparatus.

The book gains by all facts being shown on an historical plane. The history of the various firms and families always reflects the history of capitalism itself. The evolution of the landowners and the mining and metal kings originally connected with the land (the French name for which, "Maitre de Forges", still strongly reminds one of their handicraft origin) at first into powerful industrial capitalists, and then into

bankers with industrial connections—is the story of the rise of people like de Wendel and Schneider, is the history of the development of industrial capitalism into imperialism.

Take the family of Schneider, the magnate of heavy industry, which is a typical example of finance capitalist "personal unity" between industrial and banking capital. Schneider is ubiquitous, he is in the Credit du Nord and in the Credit Lyonnais, and in the Union Européene Industrielle et Financiere. The latter has a share capital of 140 million francs, and has an interest in big industrial and banking enterprises not only in France, but mainly in Central Europe. This bank has close connections with the well-known heavy industrial plants like the Skoda Works (Czechoslovakia), the iron and steel works in Huta Bankowa (Poland), the mining and metallurgical factories Spolecnost, the General Hungarian Credit Bank, the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Works in Burbach, Eich and Dudelange (Arbeit Concern in Luxemburg) and other heavy industrial enterprises. The bank in its turn is connected with other representatives of the financial oligarchy, with Mallet, Neuflize, and Hottinge. Speaking of the power of this bank, the authors say:

> "This banking organism is wholly in the hands of the banking sharks and M. Schneider, who himself is one of the most influential members. The banking power of this combination is so great that it compared with the big American trusts" (p. 148).

Of special interest just now is the question of the role played by the old time nobility in chaining the industrial capitalists to the kings of finance, those aristocrats of Coblenz, who betrayed their nation for the sake of reaction, who joined hands with the big bourgeoisie and are now part of the 200 families. It is they—these most active pillars of reactionary traditions—who have become the initiators and patrons of the fascist movements. The Schneider family is connected by marriage with Antoinette Rafelis de Saint Sauveur, with the marquise de Juigue, with Count de Brantes, Count Gerard de Gandy, marquise de Chaponay, Her Imperial Highness the Princess Genevieve d'Orleans, the daughter of the Duke of Vendome, sister of Albert, deceased king of Belgium, and with a dozen other big aristocrats.

Together with the development of the families we observe another process, the fusion with industrial concerns of those banks which for a century and more performed only intermediary and credit functions. Of this type are the three old banking houses Mirabaud and Co., the Brothers Mallet and the Brothers Rothschild, who together constitute a powerful triumvirate, controlling and exerting power over a considerable section of the economic life of France and numerous enterprises abroad. These enterprises are known to the public mainly as banking houses, but actually the interests of numerous industrial firms intertwine in them.

The banking house of Mirabaud is connected with the big industrialist de Wendel and has interests in all branches of industry. Mallet is also ubiquitous; with the help of a capital of 6,500,000 francs he lords it over tens of billions of francs. Rothschild, who in some people's opinion has lost some of his unlimited power, collaborates with both these magnates. Rothschild has a hand in the oil and electrical

industries, in railways and in other branches of production. They may be numbered among the greatest landowners of France. The authors say:

> "The entire economy of France, economics, agriculture, industry, trade, the banks and concessions, are controlled either by them or in a majority of cases by them in company with the other bankers we have dealt with in these pages. They are the masters not only of the economic life of the country, but also of its home and foreign policy. These kings of finance exercise their power jointly, but in our view the Rothschilds are the most powerful of all" (p. 287).

The authors show how all these gentlemen know how, with the help of the press and science bought by them, to mask their methods of domination and dish them up as democracy, how "the democratization" of joint stock companies, namely, the allocation of shares owned by small holders, is one of the chief methods of strengthening the power of this oligarchy. How with half a billion francs one can deal with 200 and more billions. The Bank of France has about 34,000 shareholders. Is this not a "democratic" institution? The general meeting elects the 12 governors of the bank, its general council. But this general meeting is made up of only 200 of the biggest shareholders. All the weaker capitalists are excluded from this body, which is of decisive importance in the command over the economic life of the country, while the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat are out of the picture altogether. The 200 families rule the entire country, control all the means of production, share out the profits without bothering about the opinion of the majority of the people. Bourgeois democracy provides the working people with very insignificant and curtailed rights and liberties.

It is the great merit of the authors that they have made a contribution to Socialist literature by raising the curtain in a new form, revealing the scenes of the life of the financial oligarchy. All the facts quoted by them are from beginning to end a confirmation of the Leninist theory of imperialism, and prove the correctness of the line of the Communist Party of France in the struggle of the French people against the financial oligarchy. And it is of all the more interest in the fact that the authors (Hamon, the famous Socialist writer and X.Y.Z.) do not at all make their basis Marxism-Leninism. Some theoretical remarks of the authors, in the introduction and the conclusion, show that the authors, unfortunately, have not understood the nature of finance capital and hold Hilferding's incorrect views on very important questions. Their few generalizations are, by the way, refuted by the facts quoted in the book itself. But the authors have a splendid knowledge of their material. By their characterization of various companies, the authors show the power of the financial oligarchy and the way it carries on its activity. This is what makes the book valuable. This wealth of material can be used to explain the role of the financial oligarchy to the general public at large, and also for a Marxist study of the economic life of France.

It is to be hoped that this book will give a stimulus to the publication of similar literature in other countries as a weapon in the struggle against the financial oligarchy.

Books Received

GERMAN

1. *Freie Bahn der Einheitsfront.* Wir antworten der Führung des Gewerkschafsbund. Herausgegeben von dem SK der KPSchweiz, Bazel, 1936. Price 20 rappen.

Published by the C.P. of Switzerland. It exposes the policy of splitting and sabotage of unity, pursued by the Right leaders, and calls for the establishment of trade union unity, as the necessary condition for a successful struggle against the capitalist offensive.

2. *Der Kampf um die Gewerkschaftseinheit.* By A. Zapotocky. Verlag Karl Freibich. Prag. Price 1 Kr.

Report of Comrade Zapotocky at the Seventh Congress of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and the resolutions of the Congress adopted on this question.

3. *Die Kader, und die Organizationspolitik der KPTsch.* By V. Sitcky. Verlag Karl Freibich. Prag., 1936. Price 1 Kr.

A pamphlet entitled "The Personal and the Organizational Policy of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia" and the resolution of the Congress adopted on this question.

4. *Für oder gegen die Einheitsfront.* By E. Fischer. Editions Promethé. Strasbourg, 1936. 38 pages.

In the pamphlet "For or Against the United Front", Comrade Ernst Fischer (former editor of the Vienna *Arbeiterzeitung*, the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria) shows the entire path taken by the Russian Mensheviks, beginning with the Russian Revolution in 1917, right up to the recent lying statements against the U.S.S.R., and the tactics of the Communist International. The pamphlet gives a complete exposure of the role of the Mensheviks at all stages of the struggle of the working class.

5. *Der Antifaschist Edgar Andre vom Tode bedroht.* By W. W. Bredel. Edition Promethée. Strasbourg, 1936. 14 pages.

"The Menace of Death Hangs Over the Anti-Fascist Edgar Andre," by Willy Bredel. Also published in an illegal edition.

6. *Wie Kampft das illegale Deutschland.* Verlag Rudolf Dolling. Prag., 1936, 45 pages. Collection of materials drawn up on the basis of speeches of delegates to the illegal Brussels Conference of the C.P. of Germany.

Shows the new methods and forms of struggle of the C.P. against fascism.

SPANISH

1. *En Torno a los problemos del Leninismo.* By J. Stalin. Ediciones Europa. America. Barcelona, Madrid. 62 pages. Price 50 centimos.

Comrade Stalin's work "Problems of Leninism" in the Spanish language appears for the first time. Translation made from the tenth Russian edition.

2. *Bajo el signo de los Soviets Chinos.* By Wang Ming. Editorial Impulso. Buenos Aires, 1936. 54 pages.

The speech of Comrade Wang Ming at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. "Under the Sign of the Soviets in China".

3. *La Societad socialista y la democracia sovietica.* By V. Molotov. Editorial Impulso. Buenos Aires, 1936, 140 pages. Price 50 centimes.

Speech at the Seventh Congress of Soviets by Comrade Molotov, "Soviet Society and Soviet Democracy".

Books in the Headlines

FRENCH DEPUTY WRITES BOOK ON PEOPLE'S FRONT

Volume Describes Real Program and Future

NEW YORK, Sept. 1.—Maurice Thorez, member of the Chamber of Deputies representing the Seine Division, has just written a study of FRANCE TODAY AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT for English readers. It has now been made available in a low-priced edition ($1.25) by *International Publishers.*

The book not only answers questions regarding immediate events in France, but analyzes the entire political and economic background of the country.

"This book will enable its readers to understand the real France of 1936," declares the noted British Marxist, John Strachey.

A companion volume, FRANCE FACES THE FUTURE (issued in paper covers at a special price of 25c), by the well-known English writer Ralph Fox, has also been released. It is an up-to-date survey and forecast.

SOVIET UNION IN FAVOR OF DISARMAMENT

Litvinov Outlines Peace Policy at League of Nations

NEW YORK, Sept. 1. — Litvinov's famous speeches before the League of Nations on the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union are collected in a volume entitled THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CAUSE OF PEACE, to be released by *International Publishers* during September.

Other basic statements by Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and Tukhachevsky dealing with the sincere and unswerving struggle for the maintenance of peace by the U.S.S.R. are also included in the book.

In view of the international peace congress at Brussels, this volume is of headline interest.

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